3: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1935 SM3 Caingang SM3 Awe'ikoma

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[Title Page]

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A KAINGANG TEXT.[1]

By Jules Henry.

[p. 172 (A)]

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121 The data for this paper were obtained during my stay among the Kaingang Indians of Santa Catarina, Brazil, from December 1932 until January 1934. Although the object of the investigation was primarily ethnological enough data were obtained for an outline of the language. The language [124] was studied principally in order that I might learn to speak it — which I did — and the great bulk of my ethnological work was done in the native language. Nevertheless, since the language was utterly strange to me and there was no source from which I might learn it[2], except from the Indians, I found it necessary to make a certain amount of systematic analysis.

101 There are several Indian tribes in southern Brazil that are called Kaingang: one in São Paulo, another in Paraná, and still others in Santa Catarina. Those that I studied are in

[122] [1] The field work was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Columbia University Department of Anthropology.

[2] I am indebted to Eduardo de Lima e Silva Hoerhan of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios for assistance in the early days of the study.

[3] Formerly part of the Municipality of Blumenau.

[197] [4] Ehrenreich, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, NS. III, 1905, pp. 52, 53; Festschrift für Adolf

[p 172 (2)]

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101 the latter state, in the Municipality of Dalbergia[3], at the Post of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, "Duque de Caxias".

197 The Kaingang have been grouped in the Gee-Tapuya linguistic family with the Botocudo of the Rio Doce in the state of Minas Geraes[4]. I find, on comparing the available data that there is no justification for such grouping. It is desireable, therefore, to consider the Kaingang dialects alone until more material is forthcoming.

CONSONANTS.

194 The most striking single feature of the basic consonantic scheme is the large number of nasals: 9 out of 18 of the consonants are nasals or are accompanied by nasal voicing. These last are the mb, nd and ng in the plosive series.

Bastian. Also, following Chamberlain's map as best we can by latitude and longitude (AA. NS. V. 15; 1913, pp. 236—247) we see that he extends his Tapuyan group into Paraná and São Paulo without including Santa Catarina. If he includes the Kaingang speaking tribes of Paraná and São Paulo in his Tapuyan family he must extend its limits into Santa Catarina.

[p. 172 (c)]

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Consonants: Broad transcription.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolar-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p (m)		t (n)				k (ŋ)	
Nasal	m	ŋ	n			ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral Frictionless				l				
Frictionless								
Fricatives		v	ð			y		h
Affricatives					ʧ ʤ			

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Vowels: Broad transcription

Pure Vowels

	Close				Open	
Front	i		e	ɛ	æ	a
Central	ɨ			ɜ		
Back	u	ʊ	o	ɔ		

Nasalized Vowels

Front	ĩ			ɛ̃	ã
Central	ɨ̃				
Back	ũ		õ	ɔ̃	

Diphthongs

ai, au, ei, ɔi, ui, ʊi, oi, ɔu

Plosives.

The dental plosives are interdental.

The voiceless plosives are aspirated. Under the influence of a phonetic law, which will be discussed in its proper place, a series of unexploded stops is produced. These stops, that I have called contact stops, exactly parallel the terminal *b*, *t* and *p* of the New York City pronunciation of back, cat and rope except that the Kaingang consonants are interdental.

I have placed m͡b, n͡d, and ŋ͡g in the plosive series because they function like plosives in the language. That is to say they never occur terminally, and they may, with the exception of n͡d, be followed by *l*. All nasal consonants except ŋ may terminate syllables. Only g may be followed by *l*.

The sounds that I have designated m͡b, n͡d, and ŋ͡g are really nasally exploded *b*, *d*, and *g* respectively. They seem logically to belong to the series of nasal consonants because of their occurence at the end of syllables. So, also, they obey the same phonetic law as do n, m and g (see section on Retrogressive Changes), and effect y in exactly the same

[1] These sounds are made by an initial closure of the nares. The fact that at the beginning of my study I heard these consonants as *d*, *b*, and *g* would seem to support this belief.

[p.173 (a)]

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way as do n, m, and ŋ (see section on Progressive Changes). Nevertheless, the fact that these nasal plosives occur only terminally, whereas the corresponding oral plosives, mb, nd and ŋg occur only initially leads us to conclude that these two series are really one phoneme. Thus in terminal position mb becomes m, nd becomes n and ŋg becomes ŋ.

Nasals.

The dental nasals are interdental.

The labio-dental nasal, ɱ, is a true and stable phoneme. It is made by touching the upper teeth to the lower lip while the vocal chords are vibrating and the air is issuing through the nose. ɱ may be distinguished from the labio-dental fricative, v, by the fact that in the former there is no friction between the lips and the teeth while in the latter there is no nasal quality.

Lateral Frictionless.

Between vowels *l* is often replaced by *r*.

Fricatives.

v alternates with β. The principal element of this phoneme, v, is made by touching the upper teeth to the lower lip lightly. Now, most of the Kaingang above 15 years of age have lost their upper incisors. As they grow older they lose more of their teeth, especially the front uppers. In rapid speech, therefore, a person trying to produce a true v would often not do so. What he does produce is a bilabial fricative, β.

Because of the rounding off the lips preparatory to producing a rounded vowel the labio-dental fricative is often heard as a very fricative w. In this case there is friction not only between the lips and teeth but also between the lips.

ð is a mixture of the voiceless and voiced interdental fricative. The vocal cords do not start to vibrate until the air is already issuing from the mouth.

[p. 173 (3)]

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Affricatives.

194 The voiceless affricative is sometimes heard as *ʃ*, particularly in unaccented position. It also occurs as *ʃ|ʃ* and as *ʧ|ʃ* in unaccented position.

The voiced affricative has a *y* quality, particularly when it is the result of the change of *y* to *dʒ* (see Progressive Phonetic Changes).

VOWELS.

ɪ occurs only in diphthongs.

e and *ɛ* do not differ a great deal in quality, the *ɛ* being rather open.

PHONETIC CHANGES.

Consonantic.

There are two large groups of consonantic changes in Kaingang: Retrogressive and Progressive. The Retrogressive are by far the most common and are purely mechanical. The Progressive changes are in some instances dependent upon grammatical processes.

Retrogressive Consonantic Changes.

A nasal consonant that terminates a syllable must change to a voiceless contact stop if followed directly by a voiceless sound. These changes are dependent upon the speech flow. That is to say, in ordinary conversation if the speech becomes very slow, or if there is a stop for rhetorical phrasing, the changes may not take place at the points where the flow slows down or where the pause for phrasing occurs.

Since *ð* is a mixture of voiceless and voiced friction the nasals behave before *ð* as if it were a voiceless consonant.

Since all Kaingang syllables must end in either a vowel or in a nasal consonant these changes are encountered with great frequency. Nevertheless, in spite of their variety and the frequency of their occurence, the rules are so simple that a foreign speaker of the language, like myself, very quickly develops a "feeling" for them and comes to use them automatically.

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The retrogressive consonantic changes are as follows:

m and *ŋ* change to *p* before *t*, *k*, *θ*, and *tʃ*. When followed by *p* only the aspirated *p* is articulated.

n and *ɲ* change to *t* before *p*, *k*, and *θ*. When followed by *t* only the aspirated *t* is articulated. When followed by *tʃ* the *t* is often assimilated.

ɲ obeys the same rules as *n* and *ŋ*.

ŋ and *ŋ* change to *k* before *p*, *t*, *θ* and *tʃ*. Before *k* only the aspirated *k* is articulated.

It is thus seen that whenever a nasal consonant is followed by a voiceless sound it either disappears or is replaced by a contact stop that corresponds to its own physiological position. That is to say (1) The bilabial nasals become bilabial contact stops; (2) The interdental nasals become interdental contact stops; (3) The velar nasals become velar contact stops; (4) The palatal nasal also becomes a *t* just as the *n* and *ŋ* do, but I am unable to state whether it is a palatal or dental *t* that is produced.

Progressive Consonantic Changes.

When *y* is preceded by a nasal it changes to *dʒ*.

When *ŋ* is preceded by *m* or by *ɲ* it drops out.

The following changes may be considered as grammatical: When the verb *kroŋ* is preceded, in any of its forms, by a nasal consonant the *k* becomes g̃g. The connective, *kũ*, with considerable irregularity, becomes g̃gũ after *ŋ* and *ŋ*. A large class of verbs ending in *ke* sometimes change the *k* to g̃g if the preceding syllable ends in a nasal consonant. The first person plural possessive pronoun *oŋ* changes an initial *k* in the possessed object to g̃g. Only one *ŋ* is pronounced in this case. Possessive pronouns are always directly prefixed to the possessed object.

The vitality of the nasal consonants in Kaingang is remarkable. Not only for their

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number but also for their activity do the nasals stand out as an extraordinary series. Every one of them not only changes itself but brings about changes in other consonants. The peculiar vigor of the nasal consonants of Kaingang must be looked upon as the fundamental phonetic characteristic of the language.

OTHER PHONETIC CHANGES.

A nasalized vowel if followed by a voiceless consonant may be followed directly by a contact *h*.

Vowel elision is rare. It is not dependent upon grammatical processes. When two vowels that are not part of one morphological element come together in discourse the first one is sometimes elided.

The first person singular pronoun, *sŋ* changes to *s* before voiceless sounds and *ð*. But when in contact with *t* it also changes the *t* to *tʃ*. *sŋ* changes the *n* in most nouns beginning with *n* to *ɲ*. Certain nouns beginning with *ŋd* change to *dʒ* after *sŋ*.

In Kaingang there are two kinds of diphthongs, those that are stable units and those that spring into existence in response to phonetic laws. Whenever a vowel precedes *tʃ* it is diphthongized by the insertion of *ɑɪ* before the consonant. This is a mechanical phenomenon. When a vowel precedes the element *ke* which means "to be about to do (something)" it is diphthongized in the same way. This is a grammatical phenomenon.

The vowel preceding *ŋ* becomes nasalized when *ŋ* changes to *h*.

m, *n*, and *ɲ* may be converted into their corresponding nasally exploded plosives when they occur immediately after an accented syllable.

Certain vocalic changes occur in response to grammatical rules. Since these are comparatively rare they will not be discussed here.

[p. 175 (a)]

Text

X539 mɨk¹ ɨ/ɔ³ ka³ ŋu⁴ ko·ɔ̃ŋɨ⁵ ɨ⁶ ŋgaŋ⁷ ma⁸ 1
Honey insect flower gather

ɨ⁹ ·ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ŋgɨ⁹ ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ɨ¹¹ ·ndɨ¹² ·ɨ¹³
and so them him behind go

ma⁸ kaŋaŋ·ɨ¹⁴ ɨ¹⁵ mɨk¹ ɨ⁶ vak¹⁶ ·ŋɨ¹⁷ ɨ⁶
but he honey saw not

·ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ɨ¹⁸ a·viŋ¹⁹ ma⁸ ·ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ɨ¹⁸ mɨk¹
Then he arrive Then he Honey

ɨ⁶ vak¹⁶ ·ŋɨ¹⁷ ŋɨ¹¹ ɨ⁶ ·ka²⁰ ŋu⁴ ɨ¹⁸ ma⁸ 5
see not I say he

·ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ka·ɲaŋ²¹ ŋu⁴ ·ŋ¹¹ ɨ¹¹ ·kaŋ²² ɨ¹¹
Then behaka his name do him

ndɨ¹² mɨk¹ ɨ/ɔ³ ɨ⁶ ɨ²³ ko·ɔ̃ŋɨ⁵ ŋgaŋ⁷ ɨ⁶
behind honey insect flower gather and

ɨ⁹ ŋu⁴ ɨ¹⁸ ·vɨk²⁴ ɨ¹¹ ·ndɨ¹² ·ɨ¹³ ma¹⁴
so he him behind go

kaŋaŋ·ɨ¹⁵ ŋu ɨ¹ ɨ vak¹⁶ ·ŋɨ¹⁷ ɨ¹ ɨ¹ ·ŋu ɨ¹
but he him see not Then he

ka ·ɨ²⁵ ma ɨ¹ ŋu ɨ¹ a·viŋ¹⁹ ma ·ɨ¹ ŋu ɨ¹ 10
come Then he arrive Then he

·vɨk²⁴ mɨk ɨ¹ vak ·ŋɨ¹⁷ ŋɨ¹¹ ɨ¹ ·ka²⁰ ŋu ɨ¹ ma
honey see not I say he

ɨ¹ kɨr·kɨlɨ²⁶ ŋu mɨk ɨ¹ ɨ²⁵ ko·ɔ̃ŋu ŋgaŋ
Then marsaná honey flower gather

ɨ¹ ɨ¹ ɨ¹¹ ·ɨɨ²⁷ ɨ¹ ɨ¹ mɨk ɨ¹ ·ndu ·ŋɨ²⁸
and so his go and so honey behind go

·mbaŋ²⁹ ma ɨ¹ ŋu ɨ¹ mɨk ɨ¹ ·vaŋ³⁰ ma
again Then he honey see

kɨr·kɨlɨ²⁶ ·ka³ ŋu mɨk ɨ¹ ·vaŋ ma ·ɨ¹ ŋu 15
marsaná honey see Then

ɨ¹ ɨ³¹ a·v³⁰ ɨ¹ ɨ¹ mɨk ɨ¹ ·vaŋ ŋɨ¹⁰ ma
he his arrive and so honey see I

kaŋaŋ·ɨ¹⁴ ·ɨ¹⁵ ko·ɔ̃³² ɨ¹³² ɨ²⁴ ·ŋ ŋu ɨ¹ ma
but it stone in sit say he

ɨ¹ ɨ¹ ɔŋ¹¹ ·na·ɨ³³ ɨ³⁴ ·mɨ³⁵ ma ɨ¹ ŋu
And so they all to go Then

ɔŋ¹¹ par·ɨ³⁶ ma kaŋaŋ·ɨ¹⁴ ɔŋ¹¹ ɔŋ¹¹ ·dɨu³⁷
they pierce but they their beak

ɨ ɨ³⁸ ·mblɨyɨ³⁹ ka ka⁴⁰ ma ɨ¹ ŋu ɔŋ 20
against break all the time Then they

[p.175 (b)]

3:Henry E-S (1930-1934)1935 SM3 Catalogue SM3
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ŋgiʔ²⁸	ŋgiʔ²⁸	ɛɛ	mɔ³⁵	ʔɔ³⁵	kɔ'tɛy⁴⁴	aka²¹			
Imam	Imam	to	to	come	you				
ma²¹	ə²¹	'mbay⁴⁵	ə²¹	mbay⁴⁵	'mbɔy⁴⁵	mbɔ²¹			
you	your	book	your	book	keep	carry			
'tɛy²¹	'ʔɛ⁴⁵	ʔɛʔ	ɛ	ʔɛ³⁵	kɔ'ɛʔ³⁵	ma	ɛʔ	ŋa	ɛ
go	So	Then	he	to	come	Then	he		
pa'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ma	kɔŋay'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ɛ	mbak⁴⁵	ɛʔ	'mbɔɛy⁴⁵			
pierce		But	his	beak		break			
11 ma	ʔɛ	ŋa	ŋ	ɛ²¹	ɛʔ⁴⁵	pa'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ya⁴⁵	ʔɔ⁴⁵	
	Then	they	they		pierce	in	order	to	
kɔ'mbay²¹	nɔ	mɔ²¹	kɔŋay'ɛʔ⁴⁵	kɔŋay'mbɔ'ɛ'ɛ'ɛ²¹					
many			but	woodpecker					
ɛʔ	ŋa	ɛ²¹	'mbɔ²¹	ŋʔ⁴⁵	ŋʔ²¹	ɛʔ	ŋa	ɛʔ	
his			her	penis		he			
'ŋaka²¹	ɛʔ⁴⁵	ŋgaŋa'mbɔ²¹	ŋʔ⁴⁵	ŋʔ⁴⁵	ŋa	ɛ			
cloth		covered	over	Then	Then	he			
ɛʔ	ŋʔ	ɛ	ŋʔ	pa'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ma	pa'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ŋʔ	ɛ	ŋʔ
penis		pierce		pierce	Then	he	pierce		
30 'ŋaka²⁵	ma	ŋʔ	ŋa	ɛ	'mbɔ²¹	ŋaka'ya⁴⁵			
through		Then	he		turned	around			
ŋʔ	ɛ	pa'ŋʔ	mbay⁴⁵	ma	ŋʔ	ɛ	ŋa'ka²¹		
Then	he	pierce	again		Then	he			
ŋʔ²¹	ya⁴⁵	kɔŋ'ŋga⁴⁵	ŋʔ	ŋʔ	ŋʔ²¹	ya⁴⁵	ə	ŋʔ⁴⁵	
I		then	and	and	I		I		
'mbɔ	ɛ	ŋʔ	ɛʔ²¹	ŋʔ	pa'ɛʔ⁴⁵	ya⁴⁵	'ŋʔ	ɛʔ	
hurry		to	go		pierce		So		
ŋʔ²¹	ŋʔ	ɛʔ²¹	ma	ŋʔ	ŋa	ɛ	ŋ	mɔ⁴⁵	mɔ⁴⁵
he	to	go		Then	he	then	to	what	
35 ŋʔ	ə'ŋgɔ'ɛ'ma⁴⁵	ŋɛ	ma	'ŋʔ	ɛ	ŋ	mɔ⁴⁵		
to	raise	I		say	he	then	to		
ŋa	ŋʔ	ŋa	ŋ	ɛ	ŋʔ⁴⁵	ə	ŋʔ⁴⁵	ma⁴⁵	pɔ'ŋʔ
Then	they	him	to	I		hurry	pierce		
'ŋʔ	ŋʔ	ŋa	ŋ	'ŋgɔ'ma⁴⁵	ŋa	ɛ	ŋa	ŋa	ŋ
about	to	and	to	raise		say	they		
ɛ	mɔ⁴⁵	ma	ŋʔ	ŋa	ɛ	ɛ	mɔ⁴⁵	ŋ	ɔ⁴⁵
him	to		Then	they	him	to	me	for	
pa'ŋʔ	ŋ'ŋa⁴⁵		ya⁴⁵	kɔ'ŋʔ²¹		ŋ	ŋa		
pierce	in	order	to	in	order	to	approach	my	
40 ŋ	ɛ	'mɔ⁴⁵	ma	ŋʔ	ɛʔ	ŋ	ɔ⁴⁵	kɔ'ŋʔ⁴⁵	ma	ŋʔ
they	him	to		Then	he	to	come	Then	
ɛʔ	ŋ	kɔ'ŋʔ⁴⁵	ŋʔ	pa'ɛ	ŋa	ŋ	ŋa	pa'ŋʔ	
he	to	come	and	pierce		them	for	pierce	

[P. 176 (A)]

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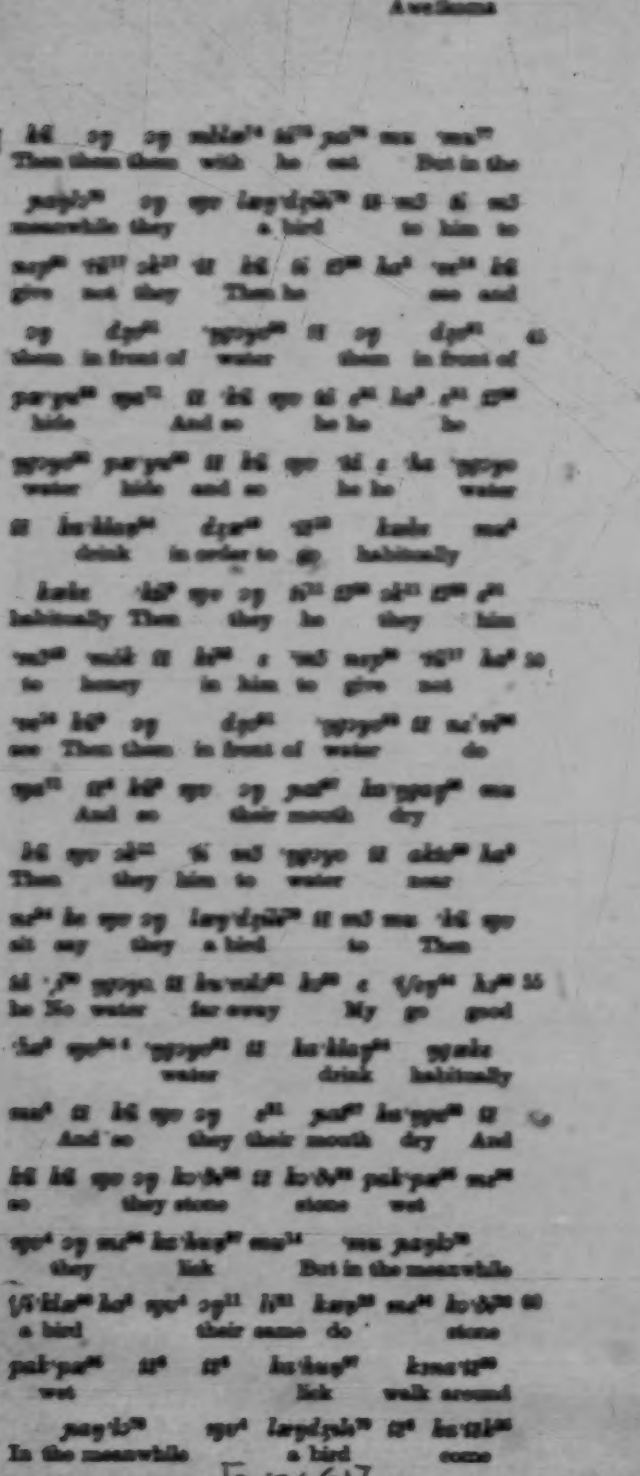

[P. 176 (8)]

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Arapaho

A531

stand Then he a bird hear

Then hide oneself In the meanwhile he

a bird a bird see not

and so he turtle large tilt

up In the meanwhile a bird

hide oneself and see stand In the meanwhile

a bird turtle large tilt back

and he water drink drink

other he cover up Then

he go Then a bird to come

Then he turtle big tilt up

Then he water see

water see water see say he

Then then hear and to come

all come finish

but in the meanwhile a bird to

come Then he his turtle large

take and water on top place

But they pay no attention they

his same do tilt up again

Then see a bird to stop

[p.177(a)]

A 539

pagũ[1]	ag[2]	ag	gãgag[3]	ã	kã[4]	
In the meanwhile		they	water	in		
kaˈnãkã[5]	kã[6]	kã	ag	ag	kaˈkãg[7]	nãn	ag
many	Then	they		drink	their	
nãn[8]	kaˈgag[9]	ã	gãgag[10]	kã[11]	kaˈkã[12]	ã[13]	
mouth	dry		very	therefore	they	
ã[14]	gãgag[15]	ã	kanag[16]	nag[17]	kakã[18]	gag[19]	
	water		look for		habitually		

Free Translation.

The bee was gathering flowers. Then the tucan followed him but did not see the hive. Then he came back and said, "I did not see the hive." That is what he said. Then the baitaka did the same as he — when the bee was gathering flowers he followed him but did not see it. Then he came back. Then he arrived. Then he said, "I did not see the hive." That is what he said. Then when the bee gathered flowers the marcaná went after him again. Then he saw the hive. It was the marcaná that saw the hive. Then when he arrived he said, "I saw the hive, but it was inside a rock." That is what he said. Then they all went there. Then they pierced it. But their beaks would always break. So they said to the tucan, "Come here. Take your big beak." So he came there. Then he pierced but his beak broke. Now, there were a great many of them there trying to pierce the hive. Now, the woodpecker had his sakỹ[1] pestle under a cloth. Then he pierced the pestle. Then he pierced through. Then he turned it around and pierced again. Then he said, "If I go to the bee-hive I'll pierce it in just this way." So saying he went there. Then he said to them, "What's all this noise about!" That is what he said to them. Then they said to him, "The noise is because I am about to pierce this hive." That is what they said to him. Then they said to him, "Come here and pierce it for me." That is what they said to him. Then he came there. Then he

[852] [1] The woman who treats ceremonially a child's umbilical cord.

[P.177 (8)]

Library E-S (1932-1934)1966 Sm3 Catgang Sm3
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X 539 came there and pierced it. When he pierced it for them he ate honey with them. But in the meanwhile they did not give any to *Lay'dpüü*. When he saw this he stole the water from them. So when he stole the water he would always go away to drink. Now, when he saw that they did not give him any honey he did that to the water and so they were thirsty. Then they said to him, "Is the water near here?" That is what they said to *Lay'dpüü*. Then he said, "No. Water is far away. I really have to travel, then I drink water." So, since they were thirsty they licked and sucked damp rocks. In the meanwhile *tʃó'dlu* did the same as they and was walking around licking damp rocks. In the meanwhile *Lay'dpüü* was coming along. When *tʃó'dlu* heard this he hid himself. In the meanwhile *Lay'dpüü* did not see *tʃó'dlu*. So he tilted back big-turtle. In the meanwhile *tʃó'dlu* was looking on from his hiding place. In the meanwhile *Lay'dpüü* tilted back big-turtle and drank water. After drinking he closed it down on top. When he did this he went away. Then *tʃó'dlu* came over and tilted up big-turtle. Then he went, "Hi hi hi hi hi! I see water! I see water! I see water!" That is what he said. When they heard this they came there. Every single one of them came. In the meanwhile *Lay'dpüü* came there. Then he took his big-turtle and placed it over the water. But they payed no attention to it. They did the same as he and tilted it up again. When *Lay'dpüü* saw this he stopped. In the meanwhile there were many of them in the water. Then they were all drinking. They were very thirsty that is why they looked for the water.

Notes.

194 X 539 1 Honey or hive. Sometimes used also to mean bee. The word is *moy*, but under the influence of the following sound the *y* has changed to *k* and the *o* has become nasalized.

196 X 539 2 Insect. Used most often with respect to the bee in order to distinguish the honey from

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(96 the bee. Thus, what is meant here is the
x534 honey's insect, i. e. bee.

3 An element of wide functions used in
x534 this case simply for emphasis. This is a common practise in opening a story. In l. 15 it is seen again accompanying the nominal subject *kâi'kâla*, marcand, because here it is desired to emphasize the fact that it was the marcand that found the honey. But in l. 12 although the subject is the same the Aa does not appear because there is no particular reason for emphasizing it.

x 443 But the element Aa has other functions:
x534 (1) As a relative it refers to some object or event in a preceding clause or statement, as in l. 50.

(2) As a demonstrative it means both "here" and "there". In l. 56 it means "there". It often occurs, but with considerable irregularity, with other demonstratives as a prefixed element without modifying their meaning. It is prefixed to locatives however to form demonstrative ideas.

Examples.

Aa	there
Aa'tz	there
Aâ and Aa	in or on
Aa'âi and Aa'âa	here or there

Aa occurs frequently in combination with locatives and demonstratives; less often with postpositions. It rarely occurs alone as a demonstrative.

4 A particle that accompanies third person subjects in the active form of the verb.

5 Flower. Aa means tree. 'Aeye means flower. Thus, tree's flowers.

6 ŋ occurs regularly after nominal subjects, direct and indirect objects of verbs and objects of postpositions. Kaingang is rich in etymologically unanalyzable and stable nouns. That is to say, these do not undergo far-reaching changes and cannot be confused with other forms. To this group belong all of the personal names and names of objects. Yet, in spite of the fact that the nouns

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[193] belonging to this group cannot be confused in discourse, they are systematically accompanied by *ti*. Thus *ti* is otiose in these cases, and hence, is often omitted, as in 1: 7.

[539]

Since *ti* is closely associated with nominal objects it occurs often after nominal forms of the verb when they become objects of succeeding verbs:

Examples.

hā qo ti mik ti ho'ey ti may ma.
Then he tiger come hear.
Then he heard the tiger's coming; i. e. Then he heard the tiger coming. (For the untranslated elements here see Notes 4, 9, 8, 16.)

ti ti e ti ho 'ho ti 'mik ti ti ma ho'may qa
He he ante-ent tiger see fear
He was afraid that the tiger would see by-him-ant-eating; i. e. He was afraid that the tiger would see that he ate ants. (For the untranslated elements see Notes 11, 23, 33, 7).

pi 'e t/3 'pqa ti pqe ho
Fire-wood I gather gather imperative
Take up (gather) by-me-wood-gathering; i. e. Take up the wood I gathered! (For untranslated elements see Note 23.)

ey'he nā ti mblo ti 'vay ma
I I his swim see
I saw his swimming; i. e. I saw him swimming. (For untranslated elements see Notes 3, and 8.)

ey'he nā ho'voa ta'ri ti 'vay ma
I I wagon arrive see
I saw wagon's arriving; i. e. I saw the wagon arriving. (For untranslated elements see Notes 3 and 8.)

hā qo ti ti ti mik ti pa'ti ya ti 'Him ro
Then he he hive pierce stand under he
Then he was lying beneath (the) by-him-hive-piercing; i. e. Then he was lying under the hive he had been piercing. (For untranslated elements see Notes 4 and 23. The verb *ya* often expresses continued action.)

[P. 179 (A)]

x193 x539 *ŋv tã ti tɔ̃ môk pæ'ðin to ka'tɛ̃ tɛ̃ 'ki ta'vi*
He he hive pierce to come in arrive
kũ tã...
and he

He (A) arrived at his (B) hive-piercing; i. e. He (A) arrived at the place where he (B) had been piercing a hive, and he.....

tɛ̃ functions together with the connective *kũ* as a connective. But this function must be considered as related to its function with nouns, since it occurs with nominal forms of the verb.

Examples.

e tɔ̃ v'yolo tɛ̃ 've tɛ̃ kũ ti 'vu ka 'tɛ̃ mu
He tapir see him chase come

By him tapir-seeing and so he came along chasing him; i. e. When he saw the tapir he came along chasing him.

e tɔ̃ ti mba tɛ̃ kũ ku'tiŋ yɔ lɔ ti
He him seize darkness place along him

mbɔ tɛ̃ mu
carry go

By him (tiger) him (man)-seizing and so into the darkness carried him; i. e. He (tiger) seized him and dragged him into the darkness.

kũ ŋv tã e ta'vi tɛ̃ kũ ŋv tã tv mu
Then he his arriving he tell

Then he, his arriving and he told; i. e. When he arrived he told.

tɛ̃ also occurs alone as a connective after the active form of the verb without difference in meaning.

Examples.

kũ ŋv tã væk tɛ̃ 'tɛ̃ mu
Then he see go

Then he see go; i. e. Then, when he saw (it) he went.

kũ ŋv tã e tɔ̃ 've tɛ̃ kũ ŋv tã 'ũ tɛ̃
Then he he see he others

ɔŋ 'mɔ̃ ŋv tã 'tv mu
them to he tell

Then by him seeing and so he told (it) to the others; i. e. Then, when he saw (it) he told (it) to the others.

[p. 179 (B)]

x193 x539 The temporal clauses in the last two examples have exactly the same meaning. In the former we have the active form of the verb, while in the latter we have the nominal form of the verb.

tɛ̃ occurs after certain elements expressing conditions:

(1) *ti ˈtvyv tɛ̃*
It moist
It is moist.

(2) *kaɪŋˈvi tɛ̃*
light
It is light (in weight).

(3) *eŋ ˈhɜ tɛ̃*
I good
I am better (i.e. not sick).

(4) *ti ya kuˈlæk tɛ̃*
It edge bad
The edge (of the knife) is dull.

(5) *taˈndaya ŋv tã tɛ̃*
splintered it
It is splintered.

(6) *ðɜɪˈpa ŋv tã tɛ̃*
four-cornered it
It is four-cornered.

(7) *kuˈpli tã tɛ̃*
White it
It is white.

(8) *tã ŋv paˈlælæ tɛ̃*
shallow
It (the stream) is shallow.

(9) *ˈŋgɔyo tɛ̃ ŋv ˈa tɛ̃*
Water good
The water is good.

(10) *ˈŋgɔyo tɛ̃ ðɔŋˈndɛk tɛ̃*
Water bad
The water is bad.

tɛ̃ occurs also in the following constructions:

(11) *a ha ma klɜŋ ˈne ko ˈvaɪ kũ ma tɛ̃*
You you animal meat eat never and you
You never eat meat.

[p. 180 (A)]

X193 X539 (12) *ŋa'ði yɔ'ŋgit kũ tã tɛ*
Weave very much and he
He weaves very much.

(13) *ði ŋaı'lɜlɜ ha ŋv mɛ 'vit*
Her body paint scattered about

(14) *kũ tã tɛ*
and it

Her body paint is spots scattered about.

(15) *loı 'vaı kũ tã tɛ*
To cut hair never and he

He never cuts hair (or, His hair is never cut).

Examples (1) and (3) parallel such expressions as

ti nɛ'ŋga ŋa
his arm
It is his arm.

tʃi ŋa
rattle
It is a rattle.

(This section must be examined in connection with Notes 7, second part, and 71.)

tɛ, we have seen, occurs with nouns. We are thus lead to believe that the elements expressing conditions in the sentences listed above are also nouns. *ŋa* also occurs only with nouns.

In the sentence

ti nɛ'ŋga ŋa
his arm
It is his arm.

ŋa is a predicating element. So in the sentence

ti 'tvyv tɛ
it moist
It is moist.

tɛ is also a predicating element.

In the sentence (6)

ðɜı'pa ŋv tã tɛ
four-cornered it
It is four-cornered

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193 the syntactical structure parallels
539 (16) *'ti ŋv tã mu*
die he
He died.

But *mu* is not a predicating element but the particle associated with the active form of the verb. (See Note 7, second part.) *ðɜ'pa*, however, is not a verb. If it were it would have both *ŋa* and *mu* forms. (See Note 7, second part.) But these do not exist. This is a further proof that the elements expressing condition are nouns.

The syntactical position of *ðɜ'pa* is not different from the syntactical position of the noun in such constructions as

(17) *tʃi ŋv tã nɛ*
dark brown it sit
It is dark brown.

In this sentence *nɛ* predicates color (condition) with regard to something.

Thus, *tɛ* is, like *ŋa*, a predicating element. At the same time it is closely related to *nɛ*, to sit; *nɔ*, to lie; *ɲaŋ*, to stand; and *tʃɔ* used with reference to certain long objects.

The close relation of these elements will become clearer if we examine the examples below in which *tɛ*, *nɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ*, and *tʃɔ* are used in parallel constructions. Each number in the *tɛ* group is to be compared with its corresponding number in the other groups.

tɛ

(1) *ta 'mɛ ŋv 'tʃɔ tɛ*
There distributive cliff
There is a cliff there.

(2) *ku'pli tã tɛ*
White it
It is white.

(3) *'ŋgɔyo tɛ ŋv 'u tɛ*
Water good
The water is good.

(4) *kaŋ'vɛ tɛ*
Light (in weight)
It is light (in weight).

[p.181 (a)]

X 193 (5) ŋa'ði yɔ'ŋgit kũ tã tɛ
X 539 Weave very much and he
He weaves very much.

(6) a ha ma klɔŋ 'nɛ ko 'vaı kũ ma tɛ
You you animal meat eat never and you
You never eat meat.

nɛ

(1) yuŋ'ŋguŋ ðat'ka ha ŋv nɛ
Hawk door sit
The hawk's door is there.

(2) tʃó ŋv tã nɛ
Brown he sit
He is brown.

(3) ɲɛle tɛ 'u nɛ
Child good sit
A pretty child.

(6) tã ŋv ŋaındʒɔŋ'ndɛt kũ nɛ
He insane and sit
He is insane.

nɔ

(1) tɔk'tɔ ŋv a'po nɔ
There farm lie
There is a farm there.

(2) nde ɲɔ ŋv a ɲatki 'ka tɛ ka
What lie your mouth inside inside
ku'tʃuŋ nɔ
red lie
What-thing-lying-down in your mouth lies red; i. e. What is that red thing in your mouth?

(4) vv ŋv tã nɔ
Loose he lie
It is loose.

ɲa

(1) ɛn ha 'ŋv ɲa
House stand
There is a house; or There is the house.

(5) mblo yɔ'ŋgit kũ tã ɲa
Swim very much and he stand
He swims very much.

[p. 181 (8)]

X 193 X 539 (6) *tiha ŋv mblo ʻwa: kũ ɲa*
He swim never and stand
He never swims.

tʃɔ

(1) *ŋgɔyo ŋv ʻtaka tʃɔ*
Water there
The stream is there.

Before going further with the argument it is necessary to point out certain differences in meaning in number 1 in all the groups. In the *tɛ* group the general statement is made that over there there is a cliff. In the *nɛ* group a man must be conceived of as pointing up to the sky and saying to some people "The hawk's door is right there." In the *nɔ* group we have again the general statement that somewhere in that direction there is a farm. In the *ɲa* group we are again dealing with an emphatic statement similar to that in the *nɛ* group — "The house is there" or "There is the house". This emphasis is achieved by the use of the *ha*. Without it the statement about the hawk's door would mean simply "There is (or was) a hawk's door".

These considerations, however, do not effect the general conclusion, viz., that all of these elements *tɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ*, *nɛ*, and *tʃɔ* are predicating elements.

In the actual expression of meaning *tɛ* is more closely associated with *nɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ*, and *tʃɔ* than with *ŋa*. Like the former it postulates position even though it be position only in a very general way. The sentence

ta ʻnɛ ŋv tʃɔ tɛ
there distributive demonstrative cliff
There is a cliff along there.

is an excellent example of this. The idea could not possibly be expressed with *ŋa*, for *ŋa* never expresses position (see Note 71). *ŋa* defines, *tɛ* expresses condition and position. *ŋa* rarely expresses condition (see Note 71). It is for this reason that *tɛ* occurs often in constructions that parallel

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those in which appear *nɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ*, and *tʃɔ*. These last elements also express condition.[1]

Because *tɛ̄* accompanies nominal subjects and is used also as a predicating element two *tɛ̄* sometimes occur together. This is readily understood since the first *tɛ̄*, i. e. the one that follows the subject, is that *tɛ̄* which we are accustomed to see with the subject whereas the second belongs with the element that is predicated about.

Examples:

ɲuŋ'ndiŋ ŋaukɔk'tɔ ã̄ ka'mbi tɛ̄ tɛ̄
Umbilical chord medicine other (a tree)
There is another medicine for the umbilical chord called *ka'mbi*.

tɔŋ'ŋgɛ ɔŋ 'ndo tɛ̄ tɛ̄
Thus their .arrows
Their arrows were like that.

'ŋgɔyo tɛ̄ 'klam ɔŋ 'ɛ tɛ̄ tɛ̄
Water beneath their houses
Their houses are beneath the water. (They live under the water.)

tɛ̄ enjoys a still wider usage as an element indicating condition.

Examples:

'ki nũ̄ ku 'tu tɛ̄
In I forget
I forget. (The verb "to forget" must always be accompanied by the locative.)

'tɔ ŋv ðat'kɔ tɛ̄
Woman necklace
Women wore necklaces.

In this sense it accompanies the negative:

kɔŋgɔŋ ŋv kɔ 'ðæyɛ tɛ̄ klam ðat'kɔ
Man tree leaf under necklace
'tũ̄ tɛ̄ ɲaylɔ ŋv tɔ ŋv
negative disjunctive (but) woman
ðat'kɔ tɛ̄
necklace
In the forest men did not have necklaces, but women did.

[1] See note on page 218.

[P. 182 (B)]

x193 The preceding sentence is extracted from this one.
x539 This sentence illustrates the functioning of *tɛ̄* as an element indicating condition. In one case it occurs after the negative, in the next it occurs alone. Its significance in the following sentence may be understood from that point of view:

ɛŋ ha nũ aŋgɔ'kap tɔ ðv tɛ̄
I I the other side there throw
I can throw to the other side (of the river); or, I am capable of throwing to the other side of the river.

tɛ̄ is used to form the definite future.

ku'lap ŋv tã katɛ'le tɛ̄
To-morrow he descend
To morrow he will come down (the river).

kɔkɔkũ tɔŋlɔ 'mũ tɛ̄
Later that way go
Later they will go in that direction.

ku'iŋ gũ ŋaıŋglɛ tɛ̄
Night and dancing
There will be dancing at night.

There is no a priori reason for considering *tɛ̄* in this function as different from the *tɛ̄* that predicates. Werden in German is used to form the future, and werden also is a predicating element.

7 *ŋgæŋ* to gather.

Kaingang often expresses plurality in the verb. When an *intransitive* verb has a plural *subject*, or when a *transitive* verb has a plural *object* the plurality may be expressed in the verb by one of three devices: 1) By complete change of verb; 2) By change of formal verbal prefix; 3) By addition to the verb of a prefix expressing plurality. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are found in all three classes.

In general the plural form of the transitive verb must be used as long as the object is plural. This means for example, that even if a number of people give one object the singular from of the verb is used.

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Examples.

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Class I: Verbs having different forms in singular and plural

	Singular		*Plural*
1. to take	*vuŋ*	to gather	*ŋgæiŋ*
2. to shoot and hit	*pæ'nũ*		*piŋ*
3. to fall	*ku'ta*		*'vɔlɔ*
4. to give	*'nem*		*viŋ*
5. to kill[1]	*'taiŋ*		*lan*
6. to arrive	*ta'vi*		*'yulu*
7. to throw	*ðvŋ*		*lɛŋ*
8. to go	*tɛŋ*		*mũ*
9. to come	*ka'tɛŋ*		*ka'mũ*
10. to die	*'telɛ*		*kɔk'tã*
11. to cut	*kiŋ*		*klɛ*

Class II: Verbs that change the formal prefix in the plural.

	Singular	*Plural*
1. for a woman to nurse a child	*pæ'ðɔ*	*pek'ðɔ*
2. for a child to nurse	*pæ'ða*	*pek'ða*
3. to hide an object	*pæ'yu*	*piŋ'dʒu*[2]
4. to chop out a bee-hive	*pæ'ðiŋ*	*pik'ðiŋ*[3]
5. to lead by the hand	*pæn'velɛ*	*pen'velɛ*
6. to drag along the ground	*pæn'va*	*pen'va*
7. to hide oneself	*ŋaimbæ'yu*	*ŋaimbiŋ-'dʒu*[2]
8. to ascend	*ta'ðiŋ*	*ya'ðiŋ*
9. to hang up	*ða'yɔŋ*	*ðaŋ'dʒɔŋ*[2]
10. to capture	*kaŋ'mɛ*	*kuŋ'mɛ*
11. to look for	*kɔ'na* to err	*kɔŋ'na*
12. to strip embira bark	*kɔ'ðaŋ*	*kɔ'kðaŋ*

[1] This verb has another plural, *kɔŋ'lan*. The prefix *kɔŋ* is a prefix expressing plurality.

[2] The *y* changes to the affricative under the influence of the preceding nasal. See Section on Phonetic Changes.

[3] Two changes occur here: in prefix and in stem vowel — the only instance in the language.

[P. 183 (2)]

x 193	13. to requite	*kɔˈyaɲ*	*kɜŋˈdʒaɲ*[1]
	14. to stretch	*kuˈyæŋ*	*kɜŋˈdʒæŋ*[1]
x 534	15. to be sick	*kɔˈŋgɔ*	*kaŋˈŋgɔ*
	16. to puncture a lip for the lip-plug	*ŋaɯŋglɔkɔˈðiŋ*	*ŋaɯŋglɔ-kiˈkðiŋ*
	17. to pull out (extract)	*kuˈnuɯ*	*kɜŋˈnuɯ*
	18. to separate embira fibre from the bark	*kuˈyaŋ*	*kaŋˈdʒaŋ*[1]
	19. to pinch	*kuˈtʃɛ*	*kuŋˈdʒɛ*[2]
	20. to singe	*kuˈtʃiŋ*	*kuŋˈdʒiŋ*[2]
	21. to be hungry	*kuˈyelɛ*	*kaŋˈdʒelɛ*[2]
	22. to be absent	*ðækɔˈti*	*ðækikˈti*

Class III: Verbs that form the plural by addition of a prefix to the stem.

	Singular	*Plural*
1. to be born	*pɔ*	*kɜkˈpɔ*
2. to burn	*pun*	*kɜˈpun*
3. to bite	*plɔ*	*kɜˈplɔ*
4. to roast in a pit	*nde*	*kɜŋˈnde*
5. to become exhausted (like a supply of food)	*kɜŋ*	*kɜˈkɜŋŋ*
6. to spin (cord)	*ŋaˈðæŋ*	*ŋaukɜkˈðæŋ*
7. to wash (clothes)	*ðɔ*	*kɜkˈðɔ*
8. to become alive	*ˈlɛ lɛ*	*kɜŋˈlɛlɛ*
9. to ripen	*tʃɜŋ*	*kɜkˈtʃɜŋ*
10. to grow	*tʃɔɯŋ*	*kɜkˈtʃɔɯŋ*
11. to sharpen sticks	*ðaˈkæŋ*	*ðakɜˈkæŋ*
12. to plant	*klaŋ*	*kɜˈklaŋ*
13. to escape or heal	*kleŋ*	*kɜˈkleŋ*
14. to make	*hoŋ*	*kɜŋˈhoŋ*
15. to put the head on an arrow or lance	*puŋ*	*kikˈpuŋ*
16. to butcher	*ðiŋ*	*kikˈðiŋ*

It will be observed that the prefix *kɜŋ* not only replaces singular prefixes but also forms the plural of verbs that have no prefixes in the singular.

[1] See footnote 2 on pag. 183.

[2] The voicing of the affricative after a significant prefix is rare but systematic.

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It is likely that in Class III, 5, 11, 12 and 13 we are dealing with *kɔp*. Under the influence of the phonetic law one *k* has been lost. The result is that these forms resemble 3 and 4.

In Class III, 15 and 16 and in Class II 22 and 16 we are dealing with a law of phonetic harmony that prevents the coming together of *ɔ* and *i* or *u* in succeeding syllables. An exception to this, however, is II, 17.

Occasionally the plural form of a transitive verb may be used when its object is singular.

Example:

kũ ɔk ti pin mu
Then they him shoot
Then they shot him.

This means that they shot him more than once. The idea that more than one missile was used is conveyed by using the plural form of the verb. Generally, however, if the object is singular the singular form of the transitive verb must be used, as in the following sentence:

kũ ŋɔ ɔŋ ti pæ'nũ mu
Then they him shoot
Then they shot him.

In the following sentence the plural form of the transitive verb is used when both the subject and object are singular because the man is struggling with the tiger and a great deal of action and shifting around are implied:

kũ ŋɔ tã ti ŋa'ði ti kuŋ'mɛ ŋa
Then he his in front of him seized
Then he his-in-front-of (at arm's length). seized him; i. e. Then he held him at arm's length and struggled with him.

But "They captured their child" takes the singular form of the verb, and "They captured their children" takes the plural form of the verb. I have no instances of one person capturing several objects.

It is impossible to divide these verbs into any but their own formal classes. With my

[p. 184 (8)]

x193 informant I systematically investigated more
x539 than 3800 poesible combinations of stems and prefixes. This investigation showed that the devices for expressing plurality belong to no special type of verb. The prefixes are not freely moving elements like the Dakota instrumentals, for example. The only prefix that seems to move with freedom is *kɜŋ*.

The form *ŋgæŋ*, "to gather" or "to carry much", is the active form of the verb. The participial form is *ŋgæiŋ*. Kaingang verbs may be divided into 2 classes: 1) Those that are the same in both active and particicipia constructions, and 2) Those that are differentl

Examples:

Class I: Those verbs that are the same in both active and participial constructions.

to be ashamed	*to'aɪnŋge*
to cook	*ndæiŋ*
to ulcerate	*ki'uiŋ*
to arrange	*uŋ*
to be born	*pɛ*
to fear	*kɔ'maŋ*
to wrap with fibre	*mbleŋ*
to swim	*mblo*
to be first	*væŋ*
to give (many)	*viŋ*
to arrive (plural)	*'yulu*
to move (something) about	*vuŋ*
to fall (singular)	*ku'ta*
to kill from within (to kill by illness or black magic)	*tæŋ*
to come (plural)	*ka'mũ*
to forget	*ku'tuŋ*
to shoot and hit	*pæ'nũ*
for a woman to nurse	*pæ'ðaɲ*
for a child to nurse	*pæ'ðɔ*
to place (a large roundish object)	*ðaŋ*

Examples Class II: Verbs that have different forms in participial and active constructions:

[p.185 (A)]

	Participial	*Active*
x193 to listen	*a'ma*	*a'maŋ*
to think	*a'klæŋ*	*a'klæŋ*
x539 to hunt	*a'klæŋ*	*a'klæŋ*
to make a fiesta	*a'ŋglaŋ*	*a'ŋglaŋ*
to make beer	*pɛ*	*pæŋ*
to wash clothes	*ðɔ*	*ðaŋ*
to bite	*plɔ*	*plaŋ*
to understand (to sense)	*ma*	*maŋ*
to capture	*kaŋ'mɛ*	*kaŋ'mɛŋ*
to catch up to	*ða'mɛ*	*ða'mɛŋ*
to take or get	*mbaŋ*	*mbaŋ*
to see	*vɛ*	*væŋ*
to arrive (singular)	*ta'vi*	*ta'viŋ*
to take	*vuŋ*	*vaŋ*
to kill (many)	*lan*	*laŋ*
to tell	*taŋ*	*tv*
to die (singular)	*'telɛ*	*ti*
to go (singular)	*tɛŋ*	*tɛ*
to come (singular)	*ka'tɛŋ*	*ka'tɛ*
to treat	*kɜk'tɔ*	*kɜk'taŋ*

These changes are extremely irregular. Among those verbs for which I have sufficient data I list 25 different types of change. There are 10 verbs that change terminal *ɛ* in the participial form to *æŋ* in the active form; 5 that change terminal *a* in the participial form to *aŋ* in the active form; 4 that change *ɔ* in the participial form to *aŋ* in the active form, and 4 that change *i* in the participial form to *iŋ* in the active form. There are 2 types of change to which belong 3 verbs each, 2 types to which belong 2 verbs each, and 17 types to which belong only one verb. No similarity in meaning unites the verbs that experience the same change.

In simple declarative sentences the participial form of the verb is followed by the untranslatable element *ŋa*, and the active form by the untranslatable element *mu*. The fact that *ŋa* always, *mu* never, follows nouns in simple statements like

pon ŋa	*tʃi ŋa*
snake	rattle
It is a snake.	It is a rattle.

[p. 185 (B)]

is the simplest proof among several that we are dealing with the participial form, or the nominal-participial form of the verb in a construction like

môk tʃũ tɛ̃ tɔ̃ kɔ'ðɛyɛ tɛ̃ ŋgæŋ ŋa
Honey insect flower gather

This is literally "by the bee flower's-gathering".

tɔ̃ is an instrumental the function of which will be described elsewhere.

There is no difference of sense between the active and the participial forms.

8 *mu* is the untranslatable particle that is associated with the active form of the verb. It is to be considered together with *ŋa*.

9 *kɛ̃* is a connective. It may be translated as "and" generally. It is used solely as a connective between clauses. It is never used as the English "and" to connect nouns, as in "the book and the pencil and the pen". Together with *tɛ̃* (see note 6) *kɛ̃* has the effect of "and so" or "and then".

10 Tucan. A bird about the size of a very large parrot. It is black with a red and yellow throat and an enormous yellow bill.

11 him.

There are two sets of pronouns, subjective and objective. The subjective occur as subjects of those verbal constructions treated as active or expressing condition or location; the objective pronouns are objects of transitive verbs and postpositions, but are also subjects of verbal constructions that are treated as nominal. They also occur independently. I have called the subjective pronouns *verbal* because they occur only with verbs, and the objective pronouns *independent* pronouns.

Objective or Independent Pronouns:

It is I	*ɛy'haŋa*
It is you (sing. and plur.)	*a'haŋa*
It is non-feminine	*ti'haŋa*
It is she	*ði'haŋa*
It is we	*ay'haŋa*
It is they	*ɔy'haŋa*

x193 x539 The *ha* is emphatic (see Note 3). The independent pronouns very often occur without it. *ŋa* is discussed under Notes 23 and 71. The first person plural is both inclusive and exclusive.

Subjective or Verbal Pronouns:

I	*nũ*
you (sing. and plur.)	*ma*
non-feminine	*tã*
she	*ði*
we	*na*
they	*ɔŋ*

The third person singular feminine and the third person plural of the verbal pronouns are the same as the independent pronouns.

The independent pronouns may occur as shown. In answer to the question "Who is it?" the Kaingang always replies *eŋ'ha ŋa* "It is I". The verbal pronouns may never occur in such a sentence.

Simple declarative sentences are formed in the following ways: 1) When the verb is transitive and the construction participial the sentence is introduced by an independent pronoun followed immediately by the instrumental *tũ* (see note 23).

Example:

a 'tũ ti pæ'nũ ŋa
You him shoot
You shot him.

2) When the verb is transitive and the construction active the sentence is introduced by the independent pronoun followed by the verbal pronoun if the subject is 1st or 2nd person.

Examples:

eŋ'ha nũ ti pæ'nũ mu
I I him shoot
I shot him.

a'ha ma ti pæ'nũ mu
You you him shoot
You shot him.

[p. 186 (8)]

X193 *aŋ'hana ti pæ'nũ mu*
We we him shoot
X539 We shot him.

In the third person the pronoun is followed by the element *ŋv*. (See Note 4.)

Examples:

ti'ha ŋv ti pæ'nũ mu
He him shoot
He shot him.

ði'ha ŋv ti pæ'nũ mu
She him shoot
She shot him.

ɔŋ'ha ŋv ti pæ'nũ mu
They him shoot
They shot him.

tã never follows the subject in these cases.

3) When the verb is active the verbal pronoun may come after the verb and be followed by *mu*.

Examples:

ti pæ'nũ nũ mu
him shoot I
I shot him.

ti pæ'nũ ma mu
him shoot you
You shot him.

ti pæ'nũ ŋv tã mu
him shoot he
He shot him.

ti pæ'nũ ŋv ði mu
him shoot she
She shot him.

ti piŋ[1] *na mu*
him shoot we
We shot him.

ti piŋ ŋv ɔŋ mu
him shoot they
They shot him.

[1] Plural because refering to many missiles. See Note 7.

[p. 187(A)]

193 In this type of construction the *ŋv* precedes the subject.

539 Rarely a sentence begins with *tã* or *ði* followed by *ŋv*.

Sentences of type 2 are most emphatic. *ha* may occur with the independent pronouns and with those verbal pronouns that are identical with them. *ha* can never occur with the other verbal pronouns. *ŋv* may never occur with an independent pronoun. *tẽ* can never occur with a verbal pronoun.

The independent pronouns are objects, the verbal pronouns are, with one rare exception, never objects. The exception is the rare occurence of *nũ* with *mblæ*, "together with" in a construction like, "together with me". Thus, the verbal pronouns are subjects only.

Kaingang objects always directly precede the element of which they are the object.

The independent pronouns are also the possessives and immediately precede the element possessed. For the sake of emphasis *ha* may occur with the possessive pronoun.

The independent pronouns occur with participial forms of the verb, with intransitive verbs and with nouns. Constructions with participial forms of the verb mean "By me his killing (I killed him)", or "By me its hanging up (I hung it up)", etc. Constructions with intransitive verbs mean "My running (I am running)", or "My sitting (I am sitting)", etc. The independent pronouns are also the possessives. The other set of pronouns occur with active forms of the verb — "I killed him", "He hung it up" etc. When they occur with intransitive verbs (I ran) the verb has not a nominal character. Active pronouns occur only with verbs and as subjects of sentences.

12 After, in the sense of "to follow".

The position of objects of postpositions is the same as the position of objects of verbs[1].

[1] Kaingang postpositions are true postpositions, and not nouns. One proof of this is that they are never followed by *tẽ* whereas their nominal objects often are.

[p. 187 (8)]

X193 X539 13 Active form of the verb "to go". It means motion on land or in the air. There are separate verbs for "to swim", "to run" and "to float".

Kaingang verbs have no tense forms.

14 But. In general this is a disjunctive.

Sometimes the disjunctive force is very weak as in the following sentence:

ey	*ve*	*kɛ*	*nɛ*	*tokti*	*ka*	*lo*
my	appearance		sit	thus	demonstrative	along

ey	*nɛ*	*hanaylo*	*tã*	*ti*	*mu*
I	sit			he	died

I was as I am now when he died.

15 He. See Note 11 also.

One should expect *ŋv* here before the *tã*. *ŋv* is generally very lightly enunciated and, therefore, I would sometimes miss it. Sometimes, however, it is really left out, but irregularly.

16 Active form of the verb "to see". See Note 7.

17 Negative particle. Some verbs take the active form when directly followed by the negative, some take the participial. Since the negative was not systematically investigated it is not possible to give a rule for this, nor to say that there is none.

Examples:

	Active	*Participial*	*Negative*
to call	*ki*	*kili*	*ki tũ nũ tɛ* Call negative I I did not call.
to give a long object	*ðiŋ*	*ði*	*hanaylo ŋv tã a* But he you *mɔ̃ ði tũ ŋv tɛ* to give negative But he did not give it to you.

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	Active	*Participial*	*Negative*
to understand, to know	*may*	*ma*	*mak 'tũ nũ tɛ* Know negative I I do not know.
to think	*a'klæp*	*a'klæs*	*tɔp'ŋgatɛ'to nũ* This to I *aklæ tũ nũ tɛ* think negative I I never thought of this
to die	*tɛ*	*'tɛlɛ*	*e tʃɔ 'tũ ŋa* I die negative I am not going to die

The commonest way of expressing the negative is that shown in the text, i. e. the idea negated is followed by *tũ*, which is followed by *tɛ*. Certain variations in meaning are expressed, however, by the use of elements other than *tɛ*. In the sentence

'tiha 'aklæ tũ ja
He think negative stand

"He does not think (He never thinks)", the *ja* convéys the idea of continuation in time.

The parallel meanings of *tɛ* and *ja* have already been discussed.

When a noun is what in English would be the predicate nominative of "to be", or what in English would be the object of the verb "to have", the negative directly follows the noun.

Examples:

ka'bõ ðɛ mbæ tũ ŋa
A personal name feminine husband negative
He was not *ka'bõ*'s husband.

a tõ e kɔ ka 'tũ ŋa
You my people negative
You are not (of) my relative.

[p. 158(B)]

X 193 In these two sentences the constructions
X 539 are the same. In the first one, however, the subject is not stated.

kulu tũ ŋv ũ
Cloth negative
He has no clothes.

ti yok tũ ŋv ũ
His father negative
He has no father.

tok ũ ya ŋgakɔktɔ tũ ŋv ũ
That for medicine negative
I have no remedy for that.

kũ ŋv ti pa ʼɔaya tũ ŋv ũ
Then he foot appendage negative
.... and he has no toes.

ŋgɔyo tũ ŋv ti ũ
Water negative it
No water (There is no water).

Conditions are treated in the same way:

tuya tũ ti ũ
Strong negative it
It is not strong (hard).

kurɔb tũ ŋv ti ũ
Distant negative it
It is not far.

These sentences are all equally clear expressed in terms of "to be". Thus: "He has no clothes" becomes, "His clothes are not"; "He has no father" becomes "His father is not"; "I have no remedy for that" becomes "There is no remedy for that". (This is literally what the sentence says, but although the difference between the literal meaning and the context interpretation is real the Kaingang are not troubled by it). "He has no toes" becomes "His toes are not".

Thus the *ŋv* in these constructions refers to the third person subject. In the fifth example of the last series the subject is actually repeated, whereas in *ŋgɔyo tũ ŋv ũ* "No water", although the meaning is the same the subject is not repeated.

[p. 189 (A)]

3:Henry E-5 (1932-1934)1935SM3 Caingang SM3
Awelkoma

X193 1539 In the following sentence there are 2 subjects but one of them has no verb:

sy'ha nũ yuk tũ ŋu tɛ
I I father negative

I have no father. "Father" is the subject of a sentence the best translation of which is "My father is not", but we are prevented from stating this as the actual translation because *nũ* is the verbal first person singular pronoun.

mbɛ tũ nũ nɛ
husband negative I sit

"I have no husband". As soon as any other person as subject is substituted for the 3rd person the *ŋu* disappears.

18 Active form of the singular verb, "to arrive". Participial form, *ta'vi*. Plural, active: *'yulu*. Plural participial, *'yulu*.

19 To say. Participial and active forms are the same. It is used only as a verb of reference to something that has just been said. In the question, "What did he say?" the verb *tɛŋ* (participial) *tv* (active), "to tell" is used. The reply to the question is given, and terminated by the expression *'ke ŋu tũ mu*, as seen in the text.

[136] 20 Baitaka. A small green bird that eats the corn.

21 Same.

22 To do. A verb of very irregular behaviour. This text example is an excellent instance of its extreme irregularity, for this is the only case in which this verb has this particular form.

Other Irregularities.

Verbs that change the stem in the active form also take the active form with the indefinite future particle *yɛ*, with the definite future partivle *tɛ*, and with the contingent future particles *ɛa.....ko*. Verbs that have the same form in both participial and active constructions do not change under any conditions. But the verb "to do" constitutes an exception to this rule.

[p. 159 (3)]

Example:

X193 X539 Participial Active *yæ tɨ va.....ho*
kɐ̃ kɐ kæ kɐ kɐ
"to do" also appears in idiomatic constructions.

Example:

tɔp'li ɔk tɨ kɐ̃
this way (manner) they instrumental do

ŋgæke mu
habitually

This is what they do (when they make a rattle). At the same time the informant demonstrates the technique of making a rattle. For the meaning of *tɨ* here, see Note 23. *tɨ* refers to *tɔp'li*.

The same idea is expressed in a different construction in the following sentence:

tɔp'li ɔk tɨ 'kɐ mu
this way (manner) they instrumental do

This is what they do (when they make a fence).

At the same time the informant draws a picture of a fence.

What makes these construction with *kɐ̃* particularly irregular is that "to do habitually" always requires the active form of the verb.

The participial form of the verb "to do" may be discovered in constructions like the following in which the element *kɐ*, "to be about to do"[1] appears. This element always requires the participial form of the verb.

'hali a tɨ kɔ'ðɨ tɨ tɨ
what you instrumental stone instrumental

kɐt kɐ ɐ̃ŋ̃ ŋa
do about to do

What are you about to do with that stone?

The interrogative *ɐ̃ŋ̃* always precedes *ŋa* when an interrogative sentence has this form.

The active form of the verb appears under expected conditions in the following sentences:

[1] This element is not related to the verb "to do". It is often translated by the Kaingang as "to want to". Thus, "What do you want to do with that stone?"

[p. 190 (a)]

tɔŋ'li tã 'ke mu
that way (manner) he do

X193 X539 That is what he does (the woodpecker). At the same time the informant imitates the pecking of the woodpecker.

tɔŋ'li ŋv tã 'kæ kæ'ke mu
that way (manner) he do habitually

That is what he does (the duck). At the same time the informant imitates the quacking of the duck.

The *ke* has changed to *kæ* under the influence of the succeeding *kæ'ke*. Thus we are also led to conclude that *kæ'ke* is a reduplicated form of the verb "to do".

keŋ also is used in expressions dealing with health:

'hali ti tɔ 'ke ŋũ ŋa
what he instrumental do

What is the matter with him?

This sentence is also translated, under different circumstances, "What is he doing?" When 2 *n*s come together only one is articulated. The above transcription gives, therefore, the impression that we are dealing with *ke* plus *nũ*. There are no instances of *keŋ* in a participial construction followed by *ŋa* only. The English sentences "He is not doing anything" or "He is doing something" are expressed by different mechanisms in Kaingang.

23 *tɔ* is the instrumental. Transitive verbs appear with *tɔ* in participial constructions.

In the sentence

ti'ha tɔ mõk 'pe ŋa
He honeybeer to make honeybeer

By him beer's making; i. e., he made honeybeer, we are dealing with the participial form of the verb.

In

ku'veŋ 'haŋv mõk
a personal male name honeybeer

pæŋ mu
to make honeybeer

ku'veŋ made honeybeer

[p. 190 (B)]

193 the active form of the verb is used. There
539 is no difference in sense between the two constructions.

In its function as an instrumental *tɔ̃* appears in sentences like the following:

'hali a tɔ̃ kɔ'ði tɛ̃ tɔ̃ ket 'kɛ ɲũ ŋa
What you stone do about to do

What are you going to do with the stone? Here both the subject and the stone are instruments of the contemplated action.

tɔ̃ also achieves an extended meaning approaching the English preposition "with":

tiha tɔ̃ klɜŋ'nɛ tɔ̃ ɲak'ðɔ ŋa
He meat defecating

By him with meat defecating; i. e. he defecated meat.

ði'ha tɔ̃ 'ðɜk tɔ̃ kv'la ɲa
She pine nuts to make soup

By her with pine nuts soup-making; i. e. she made pine nut soup.

In this way the function of *tɔ̃* in the following sentence becomes intelligible:

ɛŋ dʒæ ha ma tɔ̃ 'ya ɲɛ
my song emphatic you sing sit

You sit singing with my song; i. e. you are singing my song.

tɔ̃ refers back to *yæ*, song. It has nothing to 'do with *ma*, the 2nd person singular pronoun. So also in the following sentence:

ũ tɛ̃ ɔŋ ŋv tɔ̃ aŋ 'lɛ̃lɛ[1] *ut'pã*
other they our to be alive different

haŋ ɔŋ mu
imagine they

The others imagined that it was another group of our own people.

This is a sentence taken from a story in which a tiger attacks a man in camp at night. His companions hear the noise and imagine that some of their vendetta enemies

[1] *aŋ'lɛ̃lɛ*, literally „our alive, our to be alive" or „our life" means „our people". When followed by *ut'pã* it means „another group of our own people."

[p. 191 (4)]

X193 X539 have come to attack them. In other words "with it (the noise) they made (imagined) our people". The "with it" is expressed by *tɔ̃*.

The function of *tɔ̃* is the same in the following sentence:

kũ ŋv ɔŋ tɔ̃ ŋaika'vŋ mu
Then they to become frightened
Then it frightened them.

This sentence is taken from a text in which some Indians become frightened at the sight of a fire they themselves left burning. They think it is the fire of some other Indians and "with it (because of it) become frightened".

The almost verbal character of *tɔ̃* appears in the following sentence in which there is no verb:

e 'tʃɔ̃ ɲu'ŋɲɛn kɜ'væi haŋa
I brother blood
Here is my brother's blood.

This sentence is intelligible without the *e'tʃɔ̃*. The sentence is taken from a story in which a man leaves his people. He leaves some of his lice on a rock. His brother finds the lice and feeds them. They change into children. He then goes to his people and tells them that he is going to lead his brother's blood to them. They doubt him. When he brings in the children he utters the above sentence. The *tɔ̃* emphasizes the fact that it is he who presents his brother's blood.

In the following sentences the *tɔ̃* is inserted to show that the noun is the object of the verb and not of something else:

kũ nũ 'ʃumbu tɛ̃ tɔ̃ nɜ'na ki
Then I buckshot on the surface on

'viŋ mu
to place
Then I put the shot on top (of the powder).

This sentence refers to the loading of a cartridge. If the *tɔ̃* were not there it would seem as if something (the powder in this case) were placed on top of the shot instead of the reverse. It is thus made clear that "buckshot" is the object of the verb and not of the postposition.

[P. 191 (B)]

193 So, also, in the sentence
539 *kũ ɔŋ hɔt kũ klɛ ka'lɔ tɛ̃ tʃ̃*
Then they make and on top lance-head

klɛ nɛ mu
on top to place

After making (the lance shaft) they put the blade on top.

With *tʃ̃*

1) *ti'ha tʃ̃ ku'te lɔ tɛŋ ŋa*
He forest through go
He is walking through the forest.

2) *ti'ha tʃ̃ taɯ lɔ ta'ðili kɛ ŋa*
He coconut tree along ascend about to
He is about to ascend the coconut tree.

3) *ði tʃ̃ nde kɔ'ŋgɔ nũ yæ ŋa*
She what sick
What is the matter with her?

4) *e tʃ̃ ũ ɔŋ mblæ nɛ ŋa*
I other they together with sit
I am sitting with some others

The type of construction illustrated in the right-hand column is very common among intransitive verbs, but rare among transitive verbs:

ɛŋ ŋaɯ 'tʃaya ŋa
My reflexive kill
My self-killing; i. e. I killed myself.

ɛŋ ha e tʃ̃ ŋaɯ 'tʃaya ŋa
I I reflexive kill
I killed myself.

[p. 192(A)]

*193
*539

The *ʧ* makes clear the fact that the head was placed on top of the shaft and not that something was placed on the head. It would, literally, mean that without the *ʧ*. In other words *ʧ* shows that "blade" is the object of the verb and not of the postposition.

ʧ also occurs with intransitive verbs.

Examples:

Without *ʧ*

e ʧɛŋ ŋa
I go
I am going.

a ˈha tai lɔ taˈðili ŋa
You coconut tree along ascend
You ascended the cocoonut tree.

tai lɔ ti taðili ˈkɛ ŋa
coconut tree along his ascend about to
He is about to ascend the coconut tree.

tai lɔ e ʧaˈðili ŋa
Coconut tree along I ascend
I ascended the cocoonut tree.

ði kɔˈŋgɔ ŋa
She sick
She is sick.

ɛŋ ˈha nɛ ŋa
I seated
I am seated.

haˈka ˈnũ nɛ
Here I sit
Here I am (or sit).

Without *ʧ* the subjects of all of the sentences in the left-hand column would be possessive pronouns, thus:

1) His forest-through-going.
2) His coconut tree-along-about-to-ascending.
3) Her what-sickness.
4) My other-together-with-them-sitting.

Often the subject of an intransitive verb does have the force of a possessive pronoun, as shown in the right-hand column. Never-

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539 theless, as soon as some other element is introduced between the subject and the verb *tɔ́* is introduced also after the subject to avoid a feeling of awkwardness. The second example in the right-hand column, however, illustrates the fact that this is not a necessity. So, also, in the third and fourth examples in the right-hand column we see that as soon as, by the different arrangement of the elements of the sentence, the subject pronoun directly precedes the verb *tɔ́* drops out.

The examples in the right-hand column illustrate forcefully the fundamental nominal-participial character of verbal constructions with *tɔ́*. The examples in the right-hand column should be read, in order:

My going
Your coconut-tree-along-ascending
Along the coconut tree his about-to-ascending
Her sickness
My sitting
I sit here

tɔ́ also functions in appositional expressions like the following:

e kɔ'kla[1] *tɔ́* *ku'ðvŋ*
My a male personal name
My *kɔ'kla*, *ku'ðvŋ*.

ɲɔ́ *a* *yi* *tɔ́* *ða'tɛ* *tɛ́*
Mother, your child a personal name
ŋv *'ti* *mu*
die
Mother, your child, *ða'tɛ* died.

ayɲɛ'lɔ́ *tɔ́* *nde* *ɲɔ*
A female personal name what lie
Which *ayɲɛ'lɔ́* (are you talking about)?

I am painfully aware that there are still a number of stray ends in the use of *tɔ́* that I cannot place. I do not, however, at present see that any other category or any wider conceptualization of this element would serve to include all of the uses of which I have spoken.

[1] The term for the man who treats ceremonially Ego's umbilical cord.

[p. 193 (A)]

x193 x539 24 An element used when an action is repeated on successive occasions. Its most usual position, to which there are rare exceptions, is directly after the subject. It is untranslatable. It often occurs with *mbaṇ* (see Note 31), which always immediately precedes *mu* and means "again".

25 To come. Active, singular, *ka'tẽ*; participial, singular, *ka'teŋ*; plural, *ka'mũ* (Active and Participial).

26 A bird with which I am not aquainted.

27 A common device in the formation of subordinate clauses is to have the subject of the subordinate clause possess the verb. In that case the verb is in the participial form. I give no examples because although there are innumerable ones they are all exactly of the same type as that in the text. This part of the sentence is translated, "..... when he went away then....". Literally it is "... then, his going, and so...".

28 Participial form of the verb "to go". The following element always requires the participial form of the verb.

29 Again. Refers to an action repeated. *mbaṇ* always directly follows the verb. It requires the participial form. Thus *mu* cannot act at a distance from the verb. This is characteristic of Kaingang syntax in general: All elements that effect other elements may do so only if they *immediately* follow them. The following elements effect verbs in the same way as *mbaṇ*:

'tʃvlv to wish to
kaṇ to finish; to terminate
vaṇ to do something before something else or before somebody else; to do something "first" (and then to do something afterwards).

These are all, really, verbal derivatives.

30 Active form of "see"; participial, *ve*.

31 *ɛ* is a 3rd person independent pronoun. It serves the 3rd person in both feminine and non-feminine, and in both singular and

x193 plural. It is used when a 3rd person object
x539 is possessed by the same 3rd person subject. Thus ɛ means "own".

Examples:

kũ ŋv tã ɛ ˈndo nɛŋˈviŋ nɛ
then he his arrows make sit
Then he was making his arrows.

kũ ŋ̄v tã ɛ ˈplũ ði mblæ
then he his wife feminine together with

ŋv tã ˈnɔ mu
he lie
Then he was lying down with his wife.

ti ˈha tɔ̃ ɛ ˈviyi mɛ ˈhɔt kũ kɔˈtĩ ŋa
he his bow distributive make then smooth
He worked over his bow until it was smooth.

aˈŋglɔ ði tɔ̃ ɛ yi
female personal name feminine her child

pæˈða ma
nurse
aˈŋglɔ is nursing her child.

kũ ŋv ɔŋ ɛ ˈplũ tɛ̃ ɔŋ ɔŋ ˈlæ kũ
then they their wife them them leave and....
Then they left their wives and.....

When a sentence or a sequence of sentences have third person subjects and objects (He [A] killed his [B's] dog) confusion may be avoided by the use of the pronoun ɛ. The following sentences are taken from the text of a story in which a man with a snake guardian spirit wishes to kill people. He steals their hair, feeds it to the snake, and they die. Another man, whom we shall call A, watches him, and when the murderer cuts off the hair of A's daughter A cuts off the hair of the murderer's wife and puts it in the place of that of his own child:

ˈkũ ŋv tã ɛ ˈyi ði klɛ̃ kiˈki
then he his own child feminine head hair

tɛ̃ kɔˈna kũ tã ˈmbaŋ mu mbat ˈkɔ̨lokũ
look for and he take take afterwards

tã ti plũ ði klɛ̃ kiki ha ˈki ŋu
he his wife feminine head hair emphatic cut
Then he (A) looked for his (own) daughter's

[p.194 (W)]

X193 X539 hair and took it. After taking it he cut his (the murderer's) wife's hair.

The story goes on to tell how the murderer unwittingly gave his own wife's hair to the snake.

hapaŋ'lɔ ŋv tã ɛ 'plũ ði klɛ̃
but he his own wife feminine head

kiki 'ha ŋv tã pon tɛ̃ mɔ̃ 'nɛ mu.
hair emphatic he snake to give.

But he gave his (own) wife's hair to the snake.

A now burns the snake and comes back, but the murderer's wife is dying.

'kũ ŋv tã 'væk tɛ̃ ka'tɛ̃ mu mupaŋ'lɔ
then he see come in the meanwhile

ŋv ti 'plũ tɛ̃ ði 'tɛlɛ nɔ
his wife . feminine die lie

When he (A) saw this (i. e. that the snake was burnt up) he came back. But in the meanwhile his (the murderer's) wife was dying (lay dying).

Temporal subordinate clauses are often formed by the introduction of *ɛ* followed by the instrumental directly after the 3rd person subject pronoun of the main clause. In this case the verb appears in its participial form and is followed by the connective *tɛ̃ kũ*.

Examples:

'kũ ŋv tã ɛ tɔ̃ 've tɛkũ ŋv tã 'ũ tɛ̃ ɔŋ
then he he see and so he other them

mɔ̃ ŋv tã 'tv mv
to he tell

Then, when he saw it, he told it to the others.

kũ ŋv tã ɛ tɔ̃ v'yolo tɛ̃ 've tɛ̃ kũ ti 'vu
then he he tapir see and so him chase

ka'tɛ̃ mu
come

Then, when he saw a tapir, he came along chasing it.

ɛ is also used unsystematically with the element *yæ*, "in order to". This element

A193 requires the participial form of the verb. There is an example in the text, l. 25. But A539 in l. 47 *tɔ̃* does not appear.

Other examples:

ti ha ŋv ɛ tɔ̃ 'moŋ loŋ yæ
he he honey beer warm in order to

ŋv tã kɔðí klɛ̃ 'pɛ̃ mu
he stone on top fire-wood

[273] Then he put fire-wood on the stones to warm the beer (i. e. he heated rocks in the fire in order to use them to warm the beer).

kũ ŋv ɔŋ ɛ tɔ̃ ti pɪæ'nũ
then they they him to hit with a projectile

yæ ŋv ɔŋ ti to paŋk'paŋ mu
in order to they him to shoot at repeatedly

Then they shot at him repeatedly in order to hit him; i. e. then they fired at him repeatedly.

But the following sentence is an exception to this practise:

kũ ɔŋ · ti ŋglɔkɔ'ðiŋ dʒæ
then they him to pierce the lower lip in order to

ðæ kɔ nɛŋ'viŋ mu
in order to stick make

Then they made sticks in order to pierce his lip.

In the following sentences, in which confusion between the subject of the independent clause and the subject of the dependent clause might arise it is not avoided through the use of *ɛ*:

pa'tæ hatɔ̃ ɛ tɔ̃ ti 've kũ ti
a male personal name he him see and his

ðe klike mu
heart split

When *pa'tæ* saw him *pa'tæ*'s heart split (i. e. he became angry).

ti 'haŋv ɛ tɔ̃ patæ 've tɛ̃ kũ
he he a male personal name see and so

ti ðe 'klike mu
his heart split

When he saw *pa'tæ* he became angry with *pa'tæ*.

[p. 195 (A)]

*193 The other alternative "When he (A) saw
*539 (B) (B) became angry" I did not get.

In the last 2 examples the discourse is in the form of a main and a subordinate clause. The subject is the same for both, but it is not repeated in the subordinate clause. There is no rule, however, that when two actions by the same subject follow upon each other the discourse must take the form of a main and a subordinate clause in which the subject is not repeated. Thus, in the following —

kũ ŋv tã ɛ ta'vi tɛkũ ŋv tã tv mu
then he his arrive and so he tell

Then, when he arrived he told — we have two clauses in which the action expressed in the subordinate clause is carried out by the same subject as that of the main clause. Yet the subjects of both clauses are expressed.

So, too, in the following sentence, although the subject of the second clause (in English, a coordinate clause) is the object of the main clause, it is not stated:

ti ha tɔ̃ ɛ viyi mɛ 'hɔt kũ kɔ'tĩ ŋa
he his bow distributive make and smooth

He is fixing his bow and it is smooth; i. e. He is smoothing his bow.

Here, however, context makes the meaning clear.

In the following short text *ɛ* is used as the subject of the last sentence. But the subject of the last sentence was the object of the preceding sentences:

kũ ŋv tã 'ma kũ ɛ tɔ̃ ti mbaŋ dzæ ke
then he hear and he him kill about to

mu ti yæ 'yatke mu 'kũ ŋv
him for open the mouth then

tã ɛ tɔ̃ ti kɔmaŋ mu
he he him fear

Then when he (the tiger) heard this he (the tiger) was going to kill him (the tick) and opened his (the tiger's) mouth for him (the tick). Then he (the tick) became afraid of him (the tiger).

[p. 195 (B)]

X193
X539 The same is true in the following text:

kũ ŋv tã ɔŋ dzo vaˈyiŋ mu ðvŋ
then he them lie in wait for Brazilian

utˈpili pæˈnũ mu kũ ŋv tã ˈɛ tʃ
single shoot at and hit then he he

ˈɛ ha ti pæˈnũ kũ tã ti ˈnɛvi-
he him shoot and he him chop into

kukæŋ mu
little pieces

Then he lay in wait for the Brazilians and shot one. Then he (the Brazilian) shot him and chopped him into little bits.

Thus *ɛ* is used when the object of one sentence becomes the subject of the succeeding sentence. But this usage is not systematic:

kũ ŋv tã ti ŋaði ti
then he his away from the body him

kuŋˈmɛ ɲa ŋv tã ti klɛ̃ tɛ̃ tʃ ˈplu kũ tã
seize stand he his head slip and he

ti m̥baŋ mu
him killed

Then he (the man) wrestled with the tiger at arms' length until his hands slipped from his (the tiger's) head. Then he (the tiger) killed him.

In the first place the first *ti* refers to the man while the second *ti* refers to the tiger. The third *ti* also refers to the tiger, but the fourth refers to the man. In the second place, although the object of the first clause (wrestled with *him*, literally, seized *him*) is the subject of the last sentence or clause, *ɛ* does not appear. *ɛ* in fact does not appear at all in this short text. But everyone knows the plot of this story.

In the following sentence there is no way (syntactical or morphological) of telling who the subject of the second clause is:

kũ yi tã ŋaiˈpili tɛ̃
then it is said he a male personal name

pæ̃nũ ha mɔ̃ tã ðoˈpai ke mu
shoot at and hit about to he ducked

[p. 196 (A)]

x193 x539 Then he was about to shoot *ŋaᵘpili* when he (*ŋaᵘpili*) ducked.

In this idiomatic construction, taken from a story told in the full rush of excited interest, and not dictated as a text, there is only one true verbal construction with two different subjects and two actions. The action of being about to shoot is expressed by the verb meaning "to shoot at and hit" followed by the element *mɔ* which means "to be about to do (something)". The true verbal construction is "(he) ducked". But if one did not know the story, or if it did not occur to one that the shooter would not duck, it would not be clear who ducked.

We cannot talk of two sentences here nor of two clauses but it is clear that the object of one action becomes the subject of an immediately succeeding action. Yet no grammatical device is used to distinguish the subject of the second action from the subject of the first.

32 Stone.

33 *ki* and *ka* as locatives mean "inside" or "in". They also may mean "on" when they are used with objects that have no broad surface or are not raised off the ground. When the object has a broad surface or is raised off the ground the prepositions *nɛᵘna*, "on the surface" and *klɛ̄*, "on top of" may be used.

Some verbs take *ki* and some take *ka*, but there are no grammatically defineable classes of verbs, one taking *ki* the other taking *ka*. There is, however, a tendency to use *ki* with plural verbs.

I have found only two cases in which *ka* and *ki* were used as locatives with the same verb.

The following is a partial list of verbs that take *ki* and of those that take *ka* when these elements are used purely as locatives:

I

	ka
(1) to give or place one small roundish object	*nɛm*

[p. 196 (8)]

		ka
X193	(2) to place (one) object that is set on the ground[1]	*ðaŋ*
X539	(3) to give a long narrow object, or to place a long narrow object horizontally	*ðiŋ*
	(4) to lie	*nɔ*
	(5) to sit	*nɛ*
	(6) to place a lance or arrow head on the shaft	*puŋ*
	(7) to thrust or sink a long sharp object into something else	*nɛˈðæɲ*
	(8) to wash the (entire) body	*kɜˈpɛ*

II

		ki
	1) to give or place many objects (of whatever shape)	*viɲ*
	(2) to cook	*ˈndæɪɲ*
	(3) to wash clothes	*ðɔ*
	(4) to pour	*ˈtʃuɪɲ*
	(5) to sit	*nɛ*
	(6) to place (several) objects that are placed on the ground	*kɔˈðaŋ*
	(7) to break a straight object	*ˈmblɜyɜ*
	(8) to thrust or sink a long sharp object into something else	*nɛˈðæɲ*

It will be noted that (1), Column II is the plural for (1) and (3), Column I, and that (6), Column II is the plural of (2), Column I.

The following sentences illustrate the use of *ki* and *ka* in the rare instances in which they occur with the same verb:

yæ nũ ˈɛt ka nɛ
future particle I house in sit
I am going to live in that house

kũ tã nɛˈyɔ vvɲˈvvlv tɛ̃ ˈka ŋaɪndzilɨ kɔna
then he smoke boiling in laughter eye

ˈplɨ nɛ kæke mu
open sit habitually
Then he would sit in the clouds of smoke laughing with his eyes open.

[1] This verb is used for a miscellaneous collection of objects. The definition given above is the native one. Because of its association with "objects placed

[p.197(A)]

X 193
X 539

The meaning of *nɛ* in these sentences is essentially the same as in the text sentence, where it is seen that *ki* is used.

a tɔ̃ e ka nɛˈðæŋ dʒæ a ŋɛ̃ ŋa
you me in thrust in order to your speech
You are saying that in order to thrust into (i. e. stab me) me.

kũ ŋv tã ɛ ˈndo ɛ ˈtɛ̃ dʒɔ ki
then he his arrow his go place where in

neðæt kũ.....
thrust and

Then he thrust his (own) arrow (or arrows ?) into his (own) trail and.....

ki may have been used here because arrow is plural.

In the following sentences *ka* and *ki* mean "on":

kũ tã ˈmblũlu ka ti ˈtʃɔ
then he ciþó (a vine) on he to be (a long object)

tɛ̃ ˈki mu
cut

Then he (A) cut the vine on which he (B) was hanging.

ˈkulu ˈka ti ˈyi ŋa
cloth (blanket) on him lay
(They) laid him on a blanket.

kũ ŋv tã kɔuka ˈlovo ki pvp ke mu
then he sky hole on alight
Then he alighted on (the edge of) the hole in the sky (i. e. the door of the sky).

ka and *ki* are used also as demonstratives. They mean "here" or "there".

Examples:

(1) *aˈyv ka ma nɛ*
a female personal name there you sit
aˈyv, are you there ?

(2) *ɔ haˈka nũ nɛ*
yes here I sit
Yes. Here I am.

on the ground" it is used for objects not ordinarily placed on the ground when they happen to be so placed.

[p. 197 (B)]

x193
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(3) *eŋ 'dʒo tɛ̃ ŋv ka nɔ*
my arrow there lie
My arrow was there.

(4) *'halikelɔ 'tã yæ tatɛ̃ka 'ɲa*
how long he indefinite future there stand

yæ
indefinite future
How long will he remain there?

(5) *tɔŋha'ka ŋv tã nɔ*
here he lie
He lived here.

(6) *halike'lɔ ɔŋ dʒæ tatɛ̃ki nɔ*
how long they indefinite future there lie

yæ
indefinite future
How long will they remain there?

In sentence 3 *nɔ* appears with *ka*, but in sentence 6 *nɔ* appears with *ki*, This is because *nɔ* is used for the plural of *ɲa*. Otherwise *nɔ* takes *ka* as in 5.

nɛ, to sit; *nɔ*, to lie (singular); *ɲa*, to stand (singular), occur with *ka*. *ta'viŋ* to arrive (one person); *'yulu*, to arrive (many people); *va'kɔ̃un*, to pile up; *'tɛlɛ*, to die (one person), occur with *ki*. *ɲa* also appears with *ki*, but only when *ki* means "inside":

kɔyake 'ki ŋv tã ɲa
the hollow of a tree in he stand

kæ'ke ŋa
habitually
He lives in the hollows of trees.

ka also means "the inside of" anything:

Examples:

inside of the mouth	*ɲatki'ka*
bottom of canoe	*kanu'ka*
inside of him	*ti 'ka*
the sole of my foot	*e pat 'ka*
the palm of my hand	*eŋ ɲɛ ŋga 'ka*

Both *ka* and *ki* occur as temporal demonstratives. In this case they are often used to form subordinate clauses:

[p.198(A)]

Examples:

X 193 X 539

kũ ŋv tã ɛ tɔ̃ 'put 'tʃi ka
then he he dive long time

'yut kæke mu
emerge (appear) habitually

Then he would dive and come up after a long time.

'ðvk tɔ̃ ði 'taɪ kɔlɔɪ tʃi 'ka
the Brasilians her kill afterwards long time

ŋv ði 'ti mu
she die

Long after they killed her (A) she (B) died.

'nvlv læŋ'le ũ tɔ̃ hali'ke 'ki ŋv ði
sleep two other identical she

'ti mu·
die

She died four days after, i. e. she died in four days.

la ũ 'ki ŋv tã 'ŋgluŋ mu
sun other it burn

It was burning on another day, i. e. A day or so afterward it was still burning.

As a temporal demonstrative *ki* combines with *ha* just as it does in the formation of spacial demonstratives. *ka* does not occur with *ha* in the formation of temporal demonstratives.

Examples:

numiŋgo ha 'ki ku'ta
Sunday fall

It will fall on Sunday, i. e. It will rain on Sunday.

nvlv pili ha'ki mbv tɛ̃
sleep one a female personal name

ði 'taɪ tɛ̃
feminine kill

In one day *mbv* was killed (along with her son).

ti tɔ̃ ɔŋ mɔ̃ yaŋ ha'ki ku'lak tɛ̃ mu
He them to sing morning

He sang for them until morning.

[p. 198 (1)]

mo'ɲa *tɛ̄* *væk* *'tũ* *ha'ki* *ŋv*
a male personal name see not

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tã *ɔŋ* *mblæ* *nɛ*
he them with sit
He lived with them before he saw *mo'ɲa*.

Some verbs regularly occur with locatives. All of these verbs express related psychological states.

Examples:

ki ŋaı mbik'ti to dream about something
ki ŋa'ɛ̄ to desire very much
ki a'klæɲ to remember
ki ku 'tuɲ to forget

e'tʃ3 *ki ŋaɛ̄ı* *'ke ɲũ ŋa*
I desire very much I
I'll want some badly.

ɛŋha e'tʃ3 *yv* *ki* *a'klæɲ* *ŋa*
I I father remember
I am thinking of my father.

ki nũ ku'tu tɛ̄
I forget
I forget.

ɛŋ 'ha nũ ɛŋ 'viyi ki ku'tuɲ mu
I I my bow forget
I forgot my gun.

34 to sit. In general one small or roundish object sits; long objects in horizontal position lie and long objects in vertical position stand. Thus, in the text, "The bee-hive is sitting inside a stone", i. e. ".... is inside a stone".

nɛ is never followed by *mu*, but it may be followed by *ŋa*. Generally it is not followed by a verbal particle at all.

nɔ is used for the plural of *nɛ* when it means "to be" (not when it means "to sit"), and of *ɲa*.

35 all.

36 This postposition implies motion towards in line l. 18 and in line l. 21; in line l. 20 it means "against"; in l. 25 it might be considered a demonstrative. The translation is "..... there were many of them *there* in order to pierce it". In l. 35 *to* means

X 193 X 539 "about". So, also, in l. 37 "..... we are making this noise about piercing this hive.....", or "..... there is a noise because we are piercing this hive." In l. 83 *to* is part of the verb.

to may also mean "beside":

'kũ ɔk ti to no
then they him beside lie
Then they stayed beside him.

A related meaning is the following:

'ndɛ to a 'nɛ nũ ŋa
what beside you sit
What are you sitting beside?; i. e. What are you doing seated there?

In these last two instances the use of *to* is related to its use in l. 25.

to also means "because of":

kiyi tĩ ŋv 'to ŋv tã ɔŋ
owl because of it he them

dʒɔŋgak'taŋ mu
pity
The owl pitied them because of it.

kũ ŋv tã ɛ 'tĩ kũ ta'vi tĩkũ 'to
then he his go and arrive and so because of it

ði to'ɲu mu
her angry
Then, when he went away and arrived (back) he was angry with her because of it. When *ɲu* means "to be angry with" it is always preceded by *to*.

ɔŋ 'yvk tĩ to ti tɔ 'lĩlɛ ŋa'
their father because of he awake
Their father remained awake because of it.

to may also mean "over" in the sense of spreading over a surface:

ndɛt ki'ki tɔŋv tã to 'viŋ mu
something feathers he over place
He put feathers all over it.

eŋ ɲak'ðɔ ŋv e tʃo 'ŋlĩ tĩ e kɔ'pe
my feces me over smear me wash

lo
imperative
I am all smeared over with my feces. Wash me!

[p. 199 (a)]

to also means "from", in

kv 'to ŋv tã ku'ta mu
a vine from he fall
He fell from a vine.

Certain verbs always occur with *to*:

to 'ɑnŋge to be ashamed (of something)
to 'ɲu to be angry (because of something; with someone)
to ɑ'klæ to think (about something)
to'vɑ: to stop doing something
to ɲɛ'põ to order (to do something)

e tʃ5 to t5 ɲak'ðɔ tɛ 'to nã 'ɑnŋge mu
I ant defecate I ashamed
I am ashamed because I defecated ants.

kã ŋv tã to 'ɑnŋge mu
then he ashamed
Then he became ashamed.

The separation of *to* from the rest of the verb by the pronoun *nã* proves that *to* is not part of the verb. In Kaingang there is no infixing

ti kɔ'ŋgɔ to ɑ'klæt kã
his sick (pain) think and.....
They think of his pain and ....

When *ɑ'klæ* means "to remember" it occurs with *ki*. See Note 33.

aka t5 mbæŋ dʒɔ'klã tɛ to ɛŋ ɲɛ'põ ŋa
you axe handle me order
You told me to make a handle for the axe.
(You told me to make an axe handle.)

37 Plural form of the verb "to go". Participial and active forms the same.

38 To pierce the hollow of a tree for honey; to chop out a bee-hive. Plural participial, *'pik'ðiŋ*; plural active unknown. Singular participial, *pæ'ðiŋ*; singular active, as in text.

39 Cutting edge. *ɲu* means tooth, beak, axe (blade), the edge of a knife etc.

40 To break. Used of straight objects. This verb sometimes occurs in its participial form, as in the text, when we should expect the active form, *'mblɔ:*. In the following

K193 K539 example the active form occurs under the same conditions in which the participial form appears in the text:

ka'ŋglæk *ði* *ŋv* *ti* *ndo*
a female personal name feminine his arrow

tɛ̃ *ti* *tɔ̃* *ka'ðaŋ* *kũ* *pæle* *ha*
he place in the bow and draw the bow

mɔ̃ *ti* *nɛ'ŋga* *ka* *tɛ̃* *ki* *tɔ̃* *'mblɔɪ*
try to his hand inside in break

kæke *pa*
continually stand

Whenever he would place an arrow in his bow and try to draw it *ka'ŋglæŋ* would break the arrow in his hand, until.....

The same occurs in l. 24. This happens because "break" occurs in an intransitive context. "They broke their beaks" is not the same as "Their beaks broke". The translation in the text should be "Their beaks would always break". In l. 24 it is "His beak broke"; but in the example given above "break" is transitive, i. e. "She would always break his arrows". So also in the following:

kũ *ŋv* *yv'plu* *ŋv* *to* *'tɛ̃* *kũ*
then a male personal name to go and

ti *nɛŋ'ndv* *mblɔɪ* *kũ* *mbo* *ka'tɛ̃*
his lower leg break and carry come

Then *yv'plu* went there and broke off this (the tapir's) lower leg and came over with it.

Here we have the active form of the verb, whereas in

...*tɛ̃kũ* *ŋv* *ti* *ka* *hatɜ* *ki* *'mblɜyɜ* *mu*
and so his inside there in break

... and so it broke off inside of him — we have the intransitive form of the verb.

41 Habitually, continually. See Note 33.

42 See also Note 10. The indirect obect is repeated here but the repetition has no grammatical significance. It is as if we were to say, "Then they said to the tucan — to the tucan....."

[p. 200 (2)]

X193 X539 43 The dative and indirect object are formed by combining this element with the person for whom a thing is done or with the indirect object. The *mɔ̃* always follows the other element:

ɛŋ'mɔ̃ to say to me
ɛŋ'ɲɔ̃ for me, or to give to me
a'mɔ̃ to you, for you
ti'mɔ̃ to or for non-feminine
ði'mɔ̃ to her, for her
aŋ'mɔ̃ to us, for us
ɔŋ'mɔ̃ to them, for them

Thus the dative-indirect object form appears only with the independent pronouns.

When *mɔ̃* appears with *ɛŋ* the former often has a verbal force, and in that case appears without a verb:

a tɔ̃ ɛŋ mɔ̃ 'ŋɛ̃ a tɔ̃ ãta
you me to speak you the aforesaid

like 'maka nɛ
the same without sit

Do without what you spoke to me about!

kaŋ'nda tɛ̃ ha tɔ̃ ɛŋ mɔ̃ ɔŋ mblɯ
a male personal name me to them with

ðvk to tɛŋ.
Brasilians to go.

kaŋ'ndaŋ said to me "Go with them to (fight) the Brasilians"

In the first sentence there is a verb — "to speak" —, but in the second there is none. The verb *taŋ*, to tell, however, requires the *ɲɔ̃* form:

'nde yɯ ma ɛŋ 'ɲɔ̃ taŋ yɯ'kɛ
what because of you me to tell about to

'maka ɛŋ ɲɔ̃ pa'piŋ mɯ.
without me to to not tell.

Why did you refuse to tell me without even trying to tell me?

The following is an example of *ɲɔ̃* used to form the indirect object:

e 'plã ði ɛŋ ɲɔ̃ ðai'kolɔ 'nem
my wife feminine me to fire give

My wife, make fire for me! i. e. My wife, give me fire!

[p.201(A)]

*193
*539 The following are examples of its use in the dative:

ɛŋ ˈɲɔ̃ kɔ tɔ̃ kuŋˈdʒuŋ kũ ŋglaɱ.
me for stick perforate and roast.
Spit this for me (with a stick) and roast it!

kuˈðvŋ ɛŋ ɲɔ̃ ti mɔ̃ mɔ̀k
a male personal name me for him for bee-hive

pæˈta
pierce
kuˈðvŋ, get honey for me, for him!

The following are examples of *mɔ̃* in the other persons of the pronoun:

ti ˈha tɔ̃ a mɔ̃ nũæ ũ ˈyi ˈkɛ ŋa
he you to thing other give about to
He is going to give you something.

yæ nũ a mɔ̃ ɔk to vaɪˈtʃiŋ
indefinite future I you for them spare
I am going to spare them for you (for your sake).

ti ha tɔ̃ ti mɔ̃ nɛŋŋaŋ ŋa
he him to ascertain (to mark)
He is marking out for him, i. e. He is indicating the direction to him.

ˈkũ nũ ti mɔ̃ laɪŋlaɪ ŋgæˈkɛ mu
then I him for work habitually
Then I worked for him.

ti nɔ ði mɔ̃ ti yiŋ mu
his mother feminine to him give
(They) give him to his mother.

mɔ̃ may also occur without any pronoun:

ɛ tɔ̃ ˈvɛ kũ ɔk tɔ̃ mɔ̃ ˈŋɛ̃ yæ
they see and they to speak in order to

la to tukðɛn
sun to make a bundle with narrow bindings

ˈkɛ ŋa
habitually, continually

They make the bundle in the daytime so that they can see it and talk to it. (This [778] refers to a magical bundle to which the Indians talk.) *to* here would give the expression *la ˈto* the force of ".... when it is light...." or ".... when there is sun....".

[p. 201 (B)]

x193 x539 44 "Come!" Some verbs take the participial and some the active form in the imperative. Still others have a special form, and still another group have two special forms. Those verbs the active and participial forms of which are the same also have the same form in the imperative.

	Examples:		
	Participial	*Active*	*Imperative*
to die	*'tele*	*'ti*	*'tilɔ*[1]
to seize	*kaŋ'mɛ*	*kaŋ'mɛŋ*	*kaŋ'mɛlɔ*
to lead	*pæn'velɛ*	*pæ'le*	*pæn'va*
to kill	*'mbaŋ*	*'mbaŋ*	*'mbolɔ*
to take	*vuŋ*	*vaŋ*	*'vɔlɔ*
			'va
to thrust into	*nɛ'ðæŋ*	*nɛ'tɛ*	*nɛ'tã*
to stop	*'hutke*	*'hutke*	*'hutkæ*
			'hutke'lɔ
to roast	*ŋglaŋ*	*ŋglaŋ*	*'ŋgla*
			'ŋglaŋ
to cut several straight rigid objects	*'kle*	*'klæŋ*	*'klæ*
to wash (a single solid object)	*ku'pe*	*ku'pæŋ*	*ku'pelɔ*
to eat	*ko*	*ko*	*kv*
to give or place a small round-ish object	*nɛm*	*nɛm*	*nɛm*
to gather	*'ŋgæŋ*	*'ŋgæŋ*	*'ŋgelɔ*
			ŋgæ
to shoot at	*paŋ*	*paŋ*	*paŋ*
to cut	*'kɤŋ*	*'kɤŋ*	*'kɤŋlɔ*
to shout, to call	*'kili*	*'ki*	*'kilɔ*
to adze	*kɜk'põ*	*kɜk'põ*	*kɜk'põlɔ*
to pour	*'tʃuŋ*	*'tʃuŋ*	*'tʃuŋlɔ*
to shatter (a pot)	*ku'ŋgaŋ*	*ku'ŋgaŋ*	*ku'ŋgaŋlɔ*
to carry (on the back)	*'tu*	*tæŋ*	*'talɔ*

[1] The element *lɔ* sometimes follows the imperative. But often it does not. In the above list I have given the imperative as I have it in my texts, with or without *lɔ*. The form with *lɔ* is more emphatic than the one without.

[p. 202 (A)]

	Participial	*Active*	*Imperative*
X 193 to run	*lɜˈlɜ*	*lɜˈlɜ*	*lɜˈlɜlɔ*
to sing	*yaɲ*	*yaɲ*	*yaɲlɔ*
X539 to throw (one object)	*ðvɲ*	*ðvɲ*	*ˈðvɲlɔ*
to wash clothes	*ðɔ*	*ðaŋ*	*ˈðɔlɔ*
to treat	*kɜkˈtɔ*	*kɜkˈtaŋ*	*kɜkˈtalɔ* *kɜkˈtɔ*
to ascend	*taˈðilĩ*	*taˈplĩ*	*taˈpã*
to pierce	*pæˈðiɲ*	*paˈti*	*pæˈta*
to come	*kaˈtɛŋ*	*kaˈtɛ̃*	*katɛŋˈlɔ* *kaˈtɛŋ*

I should have wished to obtain all the verbs on the above list with and without the element *lɔ*. Unfortunately this was not possible.

45 Axe. Also used of large beaks, like that of the tucan.

46 Large.

47 One person carrys small object. This element never occurs without another verb like *tɛŋ*, to go; *kaˈtɛŋ* to come; *ɲa* to stand. Thus:

a ˈha ma klayˈdza mbɔ ɲa
you you knife carry stand
You have a knife.

mbɔ may be derived from the verb *mbaɲ*, (participial), *ˈmbaŋ*, (active); *ˈmbɔlɔ* imperative, to take.

48 Another idiomatic use of the verb *keɲ*, to do. It seems to be related to the use of *keɲ* in the following sentences:

ke kũ ɛŋ ˈviyĩ tɛ̃ ˈvut kũ aklæk ˈtɛŋ
alright my bow take and hunting go
Alright, take my bow and go hunting.

ndvˈmiygo ke kũ e tʃɔ ˈpuŋ
Sunday and I to place the head of a
dzæ e tʃɔ
lance or arrow on the shaft indefinite future I
put ˈke ɲa
place about to
I am going to place the head of the lance on the shaft on Sunday. (The force of this expression is "I'll wait until Sunday, *then* I'll etc.")

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'kɛ tɛ̃ ŋv ði ve yæ
..... so saying feminine see in order to
'tɛ̃ mu
go

So saying she went to see.

49 In order to. *yæ* functions like the Spanish and Portuguese para.

Examples:

ti ha tɔ̃ ɛ ndo yæ kɔ kaʊtʃiŋ kvŋ
he his arrow for wood small cut
yæ tɛŋ ŋa
in order to go

He went to cut a small stick for his arrow.

kũ tã ði mblæ ti yæ 'plãla
then he feminine together with him for weep
ni tã 'hutke mu
a long time he stop

Then he wept with her for him a long time and stopped.

ðe'tʃa yi ɔŋ dzæ pɛ̃
a male personal name it is said them for firewood
kɜna'tɛ̃
wander around

It is told that *ðe'tʃa* walked about preparing the fire for them (for their cremation).

tɔktɛ̃ 'yæ ŋaʊkɔktɔ 'tũ tɛ̃
that for remedy negative

There is no remedy for that.

ɛŋ dzæ a'ma
me for listen

Wait for me. (Watch out for me).

ɛ tʃɔ̃ a yæ 'kvŋ yæ ka'tɛŋ ŋa
I you for summon in order to come

I come to summon you.

yæ also may function as does the element *mɔ̃*, but rarely:

ɛŋ 'ha ɛ tʃɔ̃ a ŋan a 'yæ tu ŋa
I I your food you for carry

I am carrying your food for you.

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x193 x539 *e tʃɔ̃ ði yæ moŋ ˈmbaŋ ŋa*
I her for honey take
I am carring the honey for her, i. e. I am taking the honey to her.

yæ also occurs without any object:

kũ ŋv tã ˈðæ ŋaˈtʃɛyɛ nɛŋˈviŋ mu
then he for iron prepare
Then he prepares iron for (them) (the arrows).

50 This element is really a general disjunctive. In this instance its effect is "now, in the meanwhile" or, "but in the meanwhile".

51 Many. This is evidently related to *mbɔŋ*, large.

52 To be (plural). I have already pointed out that *nɔ*, to lie, may be used alone for the plural of "to be". *nɔndɛ*, however, is more frequently used.

Examples:

kaŋa ˈhɔ mblæ ku-
a male personal name together with a male

ndaŋ tɛ̃ aˈmɛɾ lɔ ti ˈtɛ̃ tɛ̃
personal name road along his go

haˈklɛ̃ ti yo nɔndɛ
(on) him before are

kaŋaˈhɔ and *kuˈndaŋ* were waiting for him on the road along which he (a third person) had gone. But:

kũ ɔk ti to nɔ
then they him beside are
Then they stayed beside him.

The latter example also is parallel to our text instance.

ði yo ɔŋ nɔ ŋa
her before their are
They were (born) before her. But:

a kɔuka ɔŋ ha ŋv nɔndɛ
your relatives they are
Your people are (there).

The plural of *nɔ* regularly, and that of *nɛ* sometimes, is formed by placing the element *ŋaŋ* before them. But *nɛ* differs from *nɔ*

[p. 203(B)]

×193 ×539 in that *ɲaŋ* is used to form the latter's plural only when *nɔ* means "to lie".

Examples:

'kũ ŋv klɛ̃ ɲaŋ 'nɔ
then on top lie
Then they lay down on (them).

ti 'plũ tɛ̃ ɔŋ ŋv læŋ'le ɲaŋ nɛ
his wife they two sit
He had two wives.

But also:

ti plũ ɔŋ ŋv læŋ'le nɔndɛ
his wife them two are
He had two wives.

nɔ is used arbitrarily to form the plural of *nɛ* and *ɲa*.

Examples:

ɛŋ 'ha nũ kɜ'yo ɲa kæ'ke mu
I I thin stand habitually
I am always thin.

ɔŋ ha ŋv kɜ'yo nɔ kæ'ke mu
they thin are habitually
They are always thin.

ndɛ to a nɛ nũ ŋa
what beside your sit
What are you sitting beside? (What are you doing there?)

kũ ɔk ti to nɔ
then they him beside are
Then they stayed beside him.

[136] 53 A woodpecker.

54 The woman who treats one's umbilical cord ceremonially.

55 The feminine particle, which also means "she" and "her", follows all human feminine nouns and personal names.

[412] 56 Stone pestle.

57 Cloth. Any piece of fabric is called generically by this term.

58 Covered over. The first two syllables of a number of verbs are identical with the first two syllables of this one.

[p.204 (A)]

Examples:

(1) to wash (the body) *ŋaiɲɛ'pe*
(2) to command *ŋaiɲɛ'põ*
(3) to do something to someone *ŋaiɲɛ'vi*
(4) to waste time *ŋaiɲɛŋ'ndzivẹ*
(5) to recite the origin myths *ŋaiɲɛ'klæẹ*

1 and 3 must be related in some way to *ku'pe*, to wash (a part of the body or a single object); *nɛ'vi*, to do; to make. The text verb may be related to *ndv*, behind; for *ndv* sometimes terminates with a contact *t* when followed by *k*. In all of the cases in which *ndv* ends with a *t* it is followed by *k*. 4 may be related to *tʃivẹ*, to grow old.

Certain verbs that begin with *ŋai* omit it when they have direct objects:

(1) *kũ ŋv ɔk tɔ̃ ŋaika'vŋ mu*
then they to be frightened

They were frightened.

(2) *e ka'vŋ ma mu*
me frighten you

You frightened me.

(3) *'ɲɛlɛ tɛ̃ 'plɜi tɔ̃ mɛ 'ŋlɛ̃*
child charcoal distributive smear

kæke kũ 'tʃi tɔk to ŋɛ̃
habitually and dark brown that about talk

kæke mu'haŋv ŋai'tʃɜẹ ɲɛlɛ 'tʃɜẹ
habitually to blacken child blacken

ŋa kæ'ke ɔŋ mu
habitually they

[302] They smear the children with charcoal and then they are dark brown. When they talk about that they call it "to blacken". They say "The child is made black"; i. e. To smear a child with charcoal so that it is dark brown is called "to blacken". "The child is blackened" — that is what they say.

(4) *ti tɔ̃ ŋaiko yɔ'ŋgi ŋa*
he coitus very

He fornicates a great deal.

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(5) *kũ ŋv kɔɪŋgɜk tɛ̃ vv'ŋgɔ tɛ̃ ka ɛ*
then man a larva during his

plũ tɛ̃ ko 'vaɪ kũ tɛ̃
wife coitus never and

So during the time of the *vv'ŋgɔ* men refrain from cohabiting with their wives.

(6) *kũ ɔŋ ŋv ŋaɪka'ŋglɔ̃ mu*
then imitate

Then they imitated.

(7) *kũ ŋv ɔŋ pay ka'ŋglɔ̃ mu*
then they shoot imitate

Then they experimented shooting.

In the following sentences, containing verbs similar in structure to the text example, we shall also see that when the verb has a direct object *ŋaɪ* disappears:

(1) *ɛŋ ha e tʃɔ̃ ɲɛŋga ku'pe e tʃɔ̃ ŋaɪɲɛ 'pe ŋa*
I I hand wash I wash

I am washing my hands.

(2) *ɛŋ ha e tʃɔ̃ ɛ tɛ̃ to ŋaɪɲɛ'põ ŋa*
I I house order

I ordered the house (to be made).

(3) *a ha mbæŋ dʒɔklã tɛ̃ to ɛŋ ɲɛ'põ ŋa*
you axe handle me order

You ordered me to make a handle for your axe; i. e. I was ordered to make a handle for your axe.

(4) *kũ yi ŋv ŋanɛ'ŋglõ tɛ̃*
then it is said a male personal name

ɛ ka'lɜ 'yɜlɜ ɛ tɔ̃ 'tu
his (own) lance cord he carry on the back

kũ ŋaɪɲɛ'klæŋ nɛ
and recite the origin myths sit

[H11] Then *ŋanɛ'ŋglõ* was sitting reciting the origin myths with his small lance (a small lance hung around the neck by a fibre strap) hanging down his back.

ko kɔ'ma ko 'klæŋ
eat fear (?) (ant eater) eat recite the

ŋa
origin myths

[773] [262] It is the origin myth about the eating of the ant-eater (a tabu animal).

[p.205(A)]

Although the *ŋaɪ* disappears when there is a direct object with these verbs also, the *nɛ* (*n* changes to *ɲ* under the influence of *ŋaɪ* and *ɛŋ*) is still to be explained.

ŋaɪ also functions as a reflexive:

ti ha ŋaɪ ˈplɔ ŋa
he himself bite

He bit himself.

kũ ŋv tã ŋaɪ mɛ kɔˈðaŋ mu
then he himself distributive place

Then he placed them on himself.

kũ ŋv tã ŋaɪ klam ˈnɛ mu
then he himself under place

Then he placed it under-himself.

It is from this last point of view that the text verb is to be understood, i. e. "He put the blanket over himself." I have no examples of this verb without *ŋaɪ*. By analogy with verb number 2, if *a* were substituted for *ŋaɪ* the sentence would mean "He put the blanket over you". The *ŋaɪ*, however, in both of these verbs is exactly the same. In the case of number 2 *ŋaɪ* must precede the verb when it has no other direct object expressed. In the text example *ŋaɪ* is a reflexive pronoun standing for all persons in both singular and plural. In both cases, therefore, it may be looked upon as a pronoun. That this must be so becomes clearer if we remember that both *ŋaɪ* and *ɛŋ*, the first person independent pronoun, change an *n* to a *ɲ*.

What confuses our translation of *ŋaɪɲɛŋ-ˈndvt* as "to place one's self under" is the presence of *t͡ɔ*. If the expression *ŋaɪɲɛŋˈndvt* were translated "he placed (the cloth) over himself" the *t͡ɔ* would be thoroughly understandable (see Note 6). As it is, however, the *t͡ɔ* is used here by analogy with its use in parallel instances.

59 There is a large class of verbs of one syllable that end in *kɛ*. Some of these verbs occur also without *kɛ*. The function of *kɛ* in these verbs is, however, at present not known.

[p. 205 (8)]

	Meaning	With *kɛ*
X193	(1) to slap on	*pæ'papkɛ*
	(2) for a tree to bend in the breeze	*'pæikɛ*
X539	(3) to blink	*'pipkɛ*
	(4) to seize suddenly	*ki'pupkɛ*
	(5) to dive	*'putkɛ*
	(6) to come to the surface	*'yutkɛ*
	(7) to slip	*'pluukɛ*
	(8) to strike a sharp blow	*'pukɛ*
	(9) open the eyes	*'mblitkɛ*
	(10) to be drunk	*'ndzakɛ*
	(11) to open the mouth	*'yatkɛ*
	(12) to enter abruptly	*'klupkɛ*
	(13) to go away	*'ŋgɜpkɛ*
	(14) to stop	*'hutkɛ*
	(15) to be absorbed (said of liquids)	*'ŋgɨpkɛ*

The above verbs with *kɛ* are all intransitive. When the construction is such that they must take an object, or what would be in English an object, their taking an object is avoided by the use of *tɔ̃*, the instrumental, or a postposition. There are a great many of these verbs and they are all intransitive or treated intransitively. As far as I have been able to discover the majority of these verbs have no forms without *kɛ*.

In the following sentence the verb appears both with and without *kɛ*:

kɛ̃ ŋu ɔk ðo ɛ en 'mbɜ tɛ̃ to
then they before their house big over

ko'olo tɔ̃ pæ'paɱ nɔ 'ɲa to pæ'pap kɛ
clay slap on lie stand over slap on

mɛ ɲaŋlɔ.
in the meanwhile.....

Then in preparation they keep plastering their big houses with clay. They plaster and in the meanwhile.....

In this sentence a direct object form is avoided by the use of the postposition *to*.

In the following sentences we have the contrasted constructions of the same verb with and without *kɛ*:

[p. 206 (W)]

Examples:

Meaning	Without *ke*
the same	*pæ'paŋ*
to appear	*yuŋ*
to stick out the head	
the same	*plu*
to be ripped	*'mbliŋ 'mbliŋ*
to sing	*yaŋ*
the same	*'klvŋ*
the same	*'huŋ*
the same	*ygʷp*

(1) *e 'tʃɔ̃ eŋ ɲen mbɔ̃ŋ 'ka e klẽ*
I my house[1] large in my head

'yut kũ
thrust out and.....

(2) *aŋ ha tɔ̃ 'yut ke ŋa*
we come to the surface
We come to the surface (after diving).

(3) *ha'kũ ŋv tã ti kɔndælæ tɔ̃ 'pluke mu*
therefore he its slippery slip
... therefore he slipped on the slippery (surface).

(4) *kũ ŋv tã tɔ̃ 'plu mu*
then he slip
Then he slipped.

In 3 and 4 we have the intransitive verb again both with and without *ke*.

(5) *ti hatɔ̃ e 'kulu tẽ mbliŋ 'mbliŋ ŋa*
he my cloth tear
He tore my clothes.

[1] This is the only instance in which Kaingang approaches metathesis. An *n* is inserted before the *e* in "house". According to the rule the *n* then changes to *ɲ* under the influence of the first person independent pronoun. But the terminal *n* is also kept.

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*539

(6) *a kɔ'na tɔ̃ 'mɔ̃litke lɔ*
your eye open imperative
Open your eyes!

In 6 the intransitive verb is used in what would be, in English, a transitive sense. But Kaingang by use of the instrumental changes the sense to "Open with your eyes!" The verb thus remains without an object. 5 is a reduplicated form of the verb without *ke*.

In the following we have a case similar to our English "He entered into an agreement". Here the verb "enter" has no object. But in "He entered the house" it has. In the first sentence the postposition "into" takes the object. Thus in the following Kaingang sentences:

(7) *ka'ŋɔlɔ tɔ̃ 'kivi ŋa ha ŋv*
an insect that cuts wood cut

ti 'ŋglẽ tẽ ki 'klv mu
his anus into enter
A branch cut by *ka'ŋɔlɔ* entered his rectum.

(8) *kũ ŋv tã ti 'ŋglẽk tẽ ki 'klupke kũ ti mu*
then it his anus into enter and die
Then it entered his rectum and (he) died.

In 7 and 8 we are dealing with the same intransitive verb. It is kept intransitive by the use of the locative, "into".

In the following instances the verb *'hutke* to stop, appears both with and without the *ke* with no change in meaning.

(9) .... *ke tẽ tã 'hutke mu*
so saying he stop
When he said this he stopped.

(10) *e kɔ'kla hutke lɔ a tɔ̃ e*
my kɔ'kla[1], stop imperative you me

tʃo ɲu kũ ma huŋ mu
angry and you stop
My kɔ'kla[1], stop! You are angry with me and you stop (making the wind blow).

[852
304]

[1] The man who treats one's umbilical cord ceremonially and also pierces a male's lower lip for the insertion of the lip plug.

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x193 x539 In this list of verbs *'yatke* (11) when it means "to open the mouth" cannot take an object. When it means "to sing", however, it retains its intransitive character:

(11) *'kũ ŋv tã ti yæ 'yatke mu*
then he him for open the mouth
Then he opened his mouth for him.

(12) *ɛŋ dzæ ha ma tɔ̃ ya ɲɛ*
my song you sing sit
You are sitting singing with my song; i. e. You are singing my song.

We have seen that of the verbs listed 9 and 12 are used in what would be, in English, transitive constructions. In Kaingang, however, the construction is made intransitive in the one case by use of the instrumental (number 9) and in the other by the use of the postposition (or locative) (number 12).

The creation of intransitive constructions by the use of postpositions and the instrumental *tɔ̃* with *ke* verbs is common in Kaingang. Very often the instrumental occurs with a locative:

Examples:

(1) *kũ yi tã ti pan ku'yɛyɛ*
then it is said he his leg leg-binding
ka ɛ ka'lɔ tɛ̃ tɔ̃ 'pv ka tɔ̃ 'pvke
on his lance strike on strike
kũ yi tã.....
and it is said he.....
Then, I have been told, he struck him on the leg-binding with his lance. He struck (him), I have been told, and .....

(2) *ti ka'lɔ tɛ̃ pæɪ'pæɪyæ hatɔ̃ŋv*
..... his lance chipped
tã ti ka tɔ̃ 'tuŋ'ŋge
he him on strike
..... he struck him with his chipped lance.

(3) *ŋv tã ta'va tɛ̃ ti ka*
..... he 'a male personal name him on
tɔ̃ lvp'ke mu
strike
He struck him, *ta'vaŋ*.

[p. 207(8)]

x193 x539 (4) *'vut kũ ti klɛ̃ tɔ 'lvpke mu*
..... take and him on top strike
Then he took it (the lance) and struck him.

In 4 we have the use of the postposition "on top of" and in 3 the postposition "on" or "inside". Thus the fact that *ka* in these cases is truly the locative is proved.

In the following sentence the postposition *la* "near" is used:

(5) *kũ ti la tɔ 'yutke mu*
.... then him near come to the surface
..... so (the lance) slid by harmlessly.

The use of the verb *'yutke* in 5 is understandable in connection with its meaning also "to appear".

(6) *yi tã ti ŋglɛ̃ pæ'nɛ tɔ*
.... it is said he his anus turtle[1] there

ki ti ka nɛ'te ti ŋglɛ̃ ku'ka tɔk
on him on stab his anus bone there

tɛ̃ ka tɔ 'tʃɔpke ti ŋaðɔ'pan ki tɔ
on strike his anus on

ŋgla'ke yi tã mu
pierce it is said he
..... then, I have been told, he stabbed him on the sacrum; he stabbed him on the sacrum; then he pierced him in the anus, I have been told.

Of these sentences only 5 would also be an intransitive construction in English. In Kaingang the transitive is avoided in all the other cases by the use of postpositions (including the locative). Thus

(1) becomes "..... he struck on his leg bands...."
(2) " "..... he struck on him...."
(3) " "..... he struck on him"
(4) " "..... he struck on him"
(6) " "..... he struck on his sacrum etc."

[1] *pæ'nɛ* means turtle. If the hard shell of the turtle be compared in shape to the sacrum there can be no doubt what the Kaingang are talking about. The sacrum looks somewhat like a turtle shell.

[p. 203(N)]

*193 Reasoning from the example of 1 *tɔ̃* must
*539 represent an instrument in all these cases. (See Note 6.) In 1 it will be observed that in the repetition of the statement "he struck", "his leg-bindings", the object of the post-position *ka*, does not appear, but *ka* itself does. So also, "lance" does not appear, but *tɔ̃* does.

Returning to our text example, *ðɛ̃* occurs as follows:

[to] ti 'ðɛn mu mu The bullet pierced through.

I cannot analyze this sentence, but the meaning is so closely parallel to the text example and to those that follow in this note that it should be given in this place. Another example is:

lɔ	*tã*	*ti*	*pãtɔ̃mbæŋ*	*tɔk*
..... a conjunction	it	his	shoulder blade	there

tɛ̃ lɔ laŋ kũ	*ti*	*ðɛn'dʒuke*	*mu*
pierce and him		come out on the other side	

..... It (the arrow) entered below the shoulder blade from behind and almost came out on the other side; i. e. it pushed up the skin on the other side.

Here *'yuke* (the *y* changes to *dʒ* after the nasal consonant) is probably *'yutke* and the *t* was not articulated.

In these sentences the meanings are closely parallel. It is therefore necessary to conclude that there is a relationship between *ðɛ̃* and *ðɛn* and that *ðɛ̃* communicates to *'yutke* the significance of "to come out on the other side".

There is one characteristic that all of the verbs under discussion have in common: none of them can take the direct object as long as they are followed by *ke*. The large majority of these verbs are monosyllabic. The exceptions are:

(1) almost to come out on the other side	*ðɛn'dʒuke*
(2) to plaster	*pæ'papke*
(3) to swing from	*'vælæke*
(4) to be stupid	*'vivɨke*
(5) to swing against	*kvm'ndælæke*

[208 (5)]

*193
*539 In 1 and 5 *ðɛn* and *kvm* are functional elements. *kvm* occurs rarely. With the exception of 1 the other verbs on this list seem to be either onomatopoetic (as 2), or symbolic (as 3 and 5), or reduplicated (as 4, from *vi* to avert the eyes); the Kaingang [826 discription of a stupid person emphasizes 828] particularly the wandering of the eyes).

60 Turn around a long object on the long axis, its length being parallel to the horizontal plane. *ðɔ* is a formal element. Verbs beginning with *ð* change the *ð* to *y* or *ɲ* when they are preceded by a direct object. I have no examples with this verb but I give below some others:

ðɔŋgak'taŋ ŋgæ'ke ŋũ mu
pity habitually I
I have pity.

ti 'ha tɔ̃ ti yɔŋgak'taŋ ŋa
he him pity
He pities him.

v'yolo pan 'vɛ kũ tã ða'tɛ̃ mu
tapir foot see and he go after (pursue)
When he saw the tapir's tracks he went after (him).

ɔŋ ha tɔ̃ ɛŋ ɲa'ðɛn ŋa
they me pursue
They pursued me.

Modifiers change in the same way when preceded immediately by the element they modify

Examples:

ðɔ'ŋgla kɔ
smooth (pretty, good) is
He is pretty.

For the meaning of *kɔ* see Note 92

a ðɛ tukðɛn yɔ'ŋgla
your heart to wrap with narrow binding good

tɔŋ 'ma kũ ɛŋ væŋ 'ŋa ha
this know and me look stand a long time
Look at this, your heart-bundle (a hunting charm) and stand looking at me.

[p.209 (A)]

X 193 A539 A postposition changes in the same way when immediately preceded by its object

Examples:

kɔ ðæyæ tɛ̄ 'yi ŋv tā ka 'tɛ̄ mu
wood leaves through he come
He is coming through the grass.

'ði ŋv tā 'tɛ̄ mu
through he go
He goes through.

'kū ma 'anmɔ ðo ɛt kū
then you elsewhere before house and.....
Then make a house for (them) off there and..

ti yo na 'en ŋa
him before we house imperative (plural)
Let us make a house (before he comes).

61 An element occasionally used to introduce exclamatory sentences.

62 Indefinite future particle. In constructions with the verbal pronoun *'yæ* immediately follows the pronoun as well as the verb. Whenever *yæ* follows the verb the verb takes the active form.

Examples:

ndv'mingo 'kekū e tʃɔ
Sunday[1] [2] I

'puŋ dʒæ
to place an arrow or lance-head on the shaft

etʃɔ pui 'ke ŋa
I to place a lance-head on the shaft about to
I'm going to place the head of the lance on the shaft on Sunday (probably). I'll place the head of the lance on the shaft on Sunday.

The psychology of this expression is worth noting. The uncertainty in the Indian's mind was expressed by the *yæ*. Then he changed to a more definite expression, *'keŋa*.

etʃɔ ti 've kū a mɔ 'tv yæ
I him see and you to tell
When I see him I will tell you.

[1] The Kaingang pronunciation of Domingo, the Portuguese for Sunday. See pronunciation of another informant p. 198.

[2] See Note 48 for discussion of this.

[p. 209 (8)]

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Because of its indefinite character *yæ* appears in questions regarding the future.

Examples:

halike'lɔ ma yæ ta tɛ̃ ki ka 'ɲa yæ
how long you there in there[1] stand
How long will you remain there?

vembɔ ma yæ ka ɲak tʃiɲ dʒæ
interrogative[2] you here[1] stand to grow old
Will you stay here a long time?

63 This must be a combination of the demonstrative, *'tɔŋ*, with the verb *keŋ*.

64 *eŋ* becomes *e* before voiceless consonants. *t* changes to *tʃ* after *e*. Thus we have the equation *eŋ* + *tɔ* = *e* + *tɔ* = *etʃɔ*.

65 This conjunction requires that the active form of the verb precede it. Its use is exceedingly wide.

Examples:

ti ha ŋændʒi lɔ ti ku'ta ŋa
his laughter his fall
He laughed until he fell over.

tɔk'tɔ ɲũ kɔæŋgɔ 'ũ ɔŋ væŋ mu lɔ ŋv
there I man other them see

ɔŋ 'u nɔndɛ
they good be
I saw some other men there and they were good.

kũ ŋv tã mãk tɛ̃ tɔ̃ mɛ tɛ̃ ɲa ti
then he tiger distributive go stand his

ka'tɛ̃ lɔ v'yolo tɛ̃ 'hɔ nɔ
come tapir whole lie
Then the tiger went around awhile and on his way back (he saw) the tapir lying (there) whole.

[1] *ka* must be the demonstrative here, although it appears in close association with the verb.

[2] *embo* is an element that frequently occurs in interrogative expressions. *embo* is translated by the informant by the Portuguese „Está capaz?", "Are you able?" But in Santa Catarina among the farmers this means, "Will you?" "Will you, probably?".

[p. 210 (1)]

x193 x539 This conjunction always implies that two actions take place in such a way that one is an outgrowth of the other.

66 What?

67 *aŋgele'mɛŋ* means "to make a noise". Active form of the verb. For participial see Note 70.

68 Bee-hive.

69 To be about to.

70 Participial form of the verb under Note 67.

71 This element is discussed in part under Note 7.

ŋa must be thought of primarily as associated with nouns. Only a sophisticated Kaingang (my informant was the only one) would give a noun without *ŋa*. The question "What is it?" will be answered by the name of the object followed by *ŋa*:

Examples:

tʃó ŋa	It is a rattle
pa'nɛ ŋa	It is a turtle

It is thus that *ŋa* becomes the sign of the participial form of the verb as described under Note 7; and follows the independent pronouns as described under Note 11. Although *ŋa* is above all to be thought of in connection with nouns its relation to *nɛ*, *no*, *ŋaŋ* and *tɛ* is so close that these elements sometimes replace *ŋa*.

Examples:

ti tõ kɔ:ŋgɔŋ ŋa
he man
He was a man.

ɛ tõ ku'yɔ nɛ
he shaman
He was a shaman.

ŋaŋ'lɔ ɔŋ mbɛ tɛ ku'ðɔ nɛ
now their husband old sit
Now, their husband was old.

ka'bõ õi ku'ðɔ ŋa
a female personal name feminine old
ka'bõ is very old.

[p. 210 (a)]

*193 So, also, *ŋa* and *nɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲay* and *tɛ̃* appear
*539 in the same contexts with the same meaning when these elements cannot be translated as "to be".

Examples:

e tʃɔ̃ kɔ ˈvaː ŋa
I eat never
I never eat (it).

ey ˈha nɛ̃ mblo ˈvaː kɛ̃ ɲa
I I swim never and
I do not know how to swim; i. e. I never swim.

ði ki nɛ̃ ŋambikti ˈvaː kɛ̃ nɛ̃ tɛ̃
her in I dream never and I
I never dream of her.

e tʃɔ̃ ði ki ŋambikˈti ˈvaː ŋa
I her in dream never
I never dream of her.

But on the whole *ŋa* rarely appears in the same contexts as the other elements under discussion. This is because it is rarely used with elements that express qualities or states of being, whereas *nɛ*, *nɔ*, *ɲay* and *tɛ̃* are.

tiˈha ŋv nɛ means "he lives there". *tiˈhaŋa* means "it is he". *kɔˈðɛ ŋv nɛ* means "there was a stone (there)"; *kɔˈðɛ ŋa* means "it is a stone".

kɔpãkɔ ˈãtã ŋv nɛ
a male personal name the afore-said
means "*kɔpãˈkɔ* was there" (i. e. alive at that time). But *kɔpãˈkɔ ŋa* comes in answer to the question "Who is it?"; "It is *kɔpãˈkɔ*".

Thus, when *nɛ*, *nɔ*, and *ɲay* occur with nouns alone or with pronouns alone they imply position or real existence. This is borne out by their frequent association with demonstratives (and locatives). *ŋa* never alone implies position and never occurs with locatives.

nɛ, *nɔ* and *ɲay* are true verbs, they have meaning in their own right and function as auxiliaries. *ŋa* is purely a functional element and has only contextual or derived meaning. It never functions as an auxiliary. Some examples of *nɛ*, *nɔ* and *ɲay* as auxiliaries are:

[p. 211 (A)]

X 193 *kũ tã ˈvæŋ nɛ*
then he see
X 539 Then he was watching.

ŋgwŋ ŋv ˈklo ɲɛ
a monkey (bujiu) call
A bujiu[1] was calling.

pæˈðɔ ŋv ði nɔ
nurse she
She (the infant) was nursing.

pæˈðɔ ŋv ði ɲa
nurse she
She (i. e. the infant) was nursing.

ɲaŋ has both participial and active (*ɲa*) forms.

72 To approach. This verb overlaps *kaˈtɛŋ*, to come. The former, however, is less general in meaning. *ka ˈtã* has this one form only.

73 When a nasal consonant occurs in accented position or immediately after an accented syllable it is sometimes exploded nasally.

74 Together with, a postposition.

75 The subject is sometimes repeated in a long clause or series of clauses.

76 To eat honey.

77 This *mɛ* frequently occurs before *ɲaŋlɔ* without changing its meaning. It is the verbal particle that is repeated with a rhetorical accent.

78 In the meanwhile. A disjunctive like *kaɲaŋlɔ*. *kaɲaŋlɔ*, however, is an adversitive.

[136] 79 Humming bird.

80 To give or to place. The general term *ði* refers to long objects when they are given or when they are placed horizontally; *ðaŋ* refers to objects that are generally set on the ground. When long objects are stood up this verb is also used.

81 An idiomatic use of the postposition that generally means "in front of" or "before". It is the reverse of the postposition

[1] The bujiu is the Brazilian name for the howler monkey.

[p. 211 (B)]

193 *ndv*, behind. The use of *yo*, however, is rather wide.
539

Examples:

kũ ŋv ði ti yo ka'tɛ̃ mu
then she him before come
Then she came back before him.

ði yo ɔŋ no ŋa
her before their
They were (born) before her.

ɛŋ dʒo ðɜ'k ðɨ tɛ̃ ki ũ kɔ'ða
me pine tree seed in other shell
Shell some pine-nuts for me!

ɛŋ 'dʒo ndæŋ 'ŋgla
me thing roast
Roast something for me!

kũ ðo 'kat kũ
then dig and....
... then dig (in preparation for), and ...

82 Water.

83 To conceal or steal one object; to steal several objects *piŋ'dʒu*. Participial and active forms are the same. *pæ'ðɨŋ*, to chop out (or pierce) a bee-hive forms its plural in the same way — *pi'kðiŋ*.

84 To drink water. Usually the verb *ko*, to eat, is used of beer. Active form of *ka'klaŋ* is *ka'klaŋ*. No plural form.

85 An idiomatic use of the locative. It also occurs with *ũ*, other: — *ki'ũ* — and means "some of".

86 To do. This verb was not sufficiently investigated to permit a satisfactory discussion.

87 The "word" for "mouth" is *pat'ki*. Nevertheless in sentences it behaves with considerable irregularity.

Examples:

'nde no ŋv a patki 'ka tɛ̃ ka ku'tʃuŋ no
what lie your mouth inside in red lie
What (is that) red (thing) on the inside of your mouth?

[p. 212 (N)]

193 *kũ ɔk ti ɲat ki ũ 'tʃu mu*
then they his mouth in other pour
539 Then they pour some into his mouth.

[136] *'kũ ŋv kɨ'lõ tɛ̃ v'yolo tɛ̃tɔ̃ e ɲat ka 'kle*
then paca[1] tapir his mouth in escape
tɛkũ
and so....
Then, when the tapir escaped from the paca.....

When a person is dying he says things about those around him, usually fortelling death. This is called *ɲatkɔŋ'na*, where *kɔŋ'na* means "to err". But *ɲatki'ðɔlɔ* means "mouth skin" or "lip". These examples are too few for the derivation of a rule.

88 Active form of the verb "to be dry". Participial form *ka'ŋga. kuŋ'ŋguŋ*, used of herbage seems to be related to it, although I do not know in what way.

89 Near by.

[194] 90 No! I have marked a low rising tone here because the peculiar musical character of the Kaingang negation is so striking. It is what singing teachers call "a scooped tone".

91 Far away. Used also of distance in time.

92 A predicating element. Elements associated with *kɔ* can take only the independent pronouns.

A large number of expressions of sensation and feeling occur in constructions with *kɔ*.

Examples:

(1) It is hot. *lõ kɔ*
hot

(2) I am cold. *ku'tʃɔ kɔ*
cold

(3) I want to go. *e tʃɛk 'tʃvlv kɔ*
my go to be desirous

(4) I am hungry. *e ku'yelɛ kɔ*
my hunger

(5) It is strong (drink or odor). *'ðɔ kɔ*
strong

(6) It stinks. *'ŋgelɛ kɔ*
odor

[1] A rodent. It is amphibious.

[p.212 (B)]

X193 (7) It is sour. *'ðulu kɔ*
sour

X539 (8) I am sleepy. *ɲu'ŋla kɔ*
sleepy

(9) I am thirsty. *ɲat ka'ŋga kɔ*
mouth dry

(10) I am sick. *e kɔ'ŋgɔ kɔ*
my sickness

(11) I am angry. *e ðe*
my heart split

kli'kl₁ kɔ
(in several places)

(12) I am annoyed. *eŋ ŋaɪplɔ kɔ*
my annoyed

But a number of expressions that do not fall into this category also occur with *kɔ*:

(13) The forest is wet. *kak'ðælæ kɔ*
wet forest

(14) It is hard. *tɔlɔ kɔ*
hard

(15) There were many houses (there). *me*
distributive

ɛ tɛ̃ ka'mbɜ kɔ
house many

(16) It is windy. *ku'hu kɔ*
wind

(17) It is fat. *'ta kɔ*
fat

(18) It is long. *'tæyæ kɔ*
long

Some of these (3, 10 and 15 for example) occur with elements other than *kɔ*. 3 and 10 occur with *ŋa*, and 15 occurs with *tɛ̃*.

These considerations prevent our concluding that *kɔ* is limited to use with expressions of sensation and feeling. Nevertheless the large number of such expressions that occur with *kɔ* is striking.

Although *kɔ* at times functions like *ŋa*, thus,

I am sick. *e kɔŋgɔ* { *kɔ* / *ŋa*
my sickness

it differs from *ŋa* in that it does not occur with *tɔ̃*. Thus, the expressions occuring with

[P 213 (A)]

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kɔ and a pronoun become nominal in character:

4 becomes "My hunger".
10 „ "My sickness".
12 „ "My annoyance".

Some of these expressions are used in other contexts as nouns without *kɔ*:

ku'hu means "wind".
taŋ „ "fat".
'ŋgelɛ „ "odor".

Their use here with a predicating element gives them the force of what in English would be adverbs and adjectives. In Kaingang, however, they remain nouns.

93 This element generally implies wholeness, but it is used also as an intensifier.

Examples:

'munaŋlɔ ti ya 'hɜ tã nɛ
in the mean while his tooth it sit
Now, all his teeth were in.

kũ ŋv tã mɛ̃k tɛ̃ tɔ̃ mɛ 'tɛ̃ ja
then he tiger distributive go stand

ti ka'tɛ̃ lɔ v'yolo tɛ̃ 'hɜ ŋɔ
his come tapir whole lie
Then he, the tiger went around (and when) he came back the tapir was lying (there) whole.

pɛ̃ 'hɜ fires burning brightly.
fire

a tɔ̃ ve tɛ̃ hɜ tɛ̃
you see
You see well.

94 *ha* and *ŋv* combine to form a demonstrative that acts like a conjunction. See Note 33 also. In view of the fact that *ŋv* frequently combines with *ha* to form demonstrative ideas it should be considered as a demonstrative fundamentally, although no translation of it is possible. It would be necessary therefore to conclude that third person subjects in active constructions must be accompanied by the demonstrative. I give below a few examples of the combina-

[p. 213 (8)]

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tion of *ŋv* with other elements to form demonstrative ideas:

(1) *ɛŋ lēlɛ 'tū ha ki ŋv ku'lak tɛ̄ mu*
my awake not morning
I did not awake until morning.

This example should be compared with similar examples under Note 33 in the discussion of temporal demonstratives. It is exactly the same as some of them with the addition of *ŋv*.

The following sentences should be compared with (1):

(2) *ya ti nɛ ha ŋv mēk tɛ̄ ti 'mbaŋ mu*
sing his sit tiger him kill
While he was singing the tiger killed him.

(3) *ti 'ya ɳɛ tɛ̄kū ŋv tā ti kɔ'maŋ mu*
his sing sit and so he him fear
When he (A) was there singing he (B) became afraid of him (A).

(4) *ti tɔ̄ ɔŋ mɔ̄ yaɳ ha'ki ku'lak tɛ̄ mu*
he them to sing morning
He sang for them until morning.

(5) *tɛ̄ kū mēk tɛ̄ tɔ̄ ti ya 'nɔ tɛ̄ ki ti*
... and so tiger his sing lie him
kaŋ mɛı 'ke haŋv ti 'plū ði
seize about to his wife feminine
ha kaŋ'mɛ̄ kū
seize and .....
While he was singing the tiger was about to seize him but seized his wife.

(1) and (4) are similar in construction and meaning, but in (4) the *ŋv* is not present. (5) and (2) are also similar in construction and meaning but different forms of the demonstrative-conjunction appear.

The English translation in (3) is a literal translation of my linguistic informant's Portuguese.

Thus the elements under discussion in the text indicate that after a long trip only does one find water: "I travel a good deal *and then* I drink water"; or "I travel a good deal and *right there* I drink water".

[p. 214 (A)]

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Aweikoma

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95 Wet.

96 Distributive. This may mean that they licked wet stones,in which case the distributive is used because the action was performed on more than one object; or it may mean that they licked a wide area on the same stone, because of the distribution of the activity. It probably means both.

97 This is the only instance of this verb that I have.

98 I am not familiar with this bird.

99 To walk about. This verb occurs very rarely with verbal particles. The text form is its only one.

This is an example of verb combination. I have very few examples of the combination of this verb with others, but other combinations may be discussed. Verbs of motion follow the verb with which they combine and require that the combining verb be in the active form. The verbs of motion themselves take the active or the participial form depending on whether they occur with *mu* or *ŋa*.

Examples:

kũ ŋv ɔŋ 'kɔlɔkũ a'klæŋ 'mũ mu
then they later hunt go
Then, later they went hunting.

eŋ ɲɔ̃ kau'tʃolo tẽ pæ'le kateŋ
me for dog lead come
Bring a dog for me.

pat'kle tẽ ŋv ti kɔ'nak 'tẽ mu
a male personal name him look for go
pat'kle went to look for him.

	Active	*Participial*
to hunt	*a'klæŋ*	*a'klæiŋ*
to lead (holding the end of something)	*pæ'le*	*pæn'vɛlɛ*
to look for	*kɔ'naŋ*	*'kɔ'na*

The verb *ka'ŋglɔŋ*, to imitate or to try out follows the verbs with which it combines. Of this I have examples, with but one ex-

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ception, solely of verbs of Class I (See Note 7). I give below the exception:

'kũ ŋv tã 'tɛŋ ka'ŋglɔŋ mu
then he go try

Then he tried (experimented) flying. (There is no verb for flying. The example is taken from a text in which the man was trying to fly.) The active form of "to go" is *tɛ̃*.

Examples such as the following are rare:

yæ nũ sabão to 'putke mba
indefinite future I soap dive take

I am going to dive for the soap.

kũ ði mblã tɔ̃ mbaŋ 'lɛŋ mu
then feminine ashes take throw

Then she takes ashes and throws them into the pot.

ti 'ha ŋv ku'klõ tɛ̃ tɔ̃ klam 'ðaŋ mbaŋ
he pot under place take

kæ'ke mu
habitually

He puts the pot under (the pipe) and then takes it away.

The most freely combining verbs in Kaingang are *nɛ*, to sit; *nɔ* to lie; and *ɲaŋ* to stand. They indicate continued action. With very few exceptions they also require that the combining verb be in the active form. They always follow the combining form.

Examples:

kũ tã væŋ nɛ
then he see

Then he was watching.

kũ tã ti mblæ ndiŋ nɛ
then he him together with joke

Then he joked with him.

kũ yi tã ki pæŋ nɛ
then it is said he there make beer

Then he was making beer there.

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ɲaŋlɔ *ɔŋ* *ŋgɔyo* *tɛ̃* *klɛ̃*
in the meanwhile they water on top

kɔɪ'tʃæŋ *nɔndɛ*
to make a bridge

In the meanwhile they were making a bridge over the river.

The following example is an exception:

ti *plũ* *tɛ̃* *ði* *ði* *'tɛlɛ* *nɔ*
his wife feminine feminine die

His wife was dying.

ti *tɔ̃* *mõk* *tɛ̃* *pæti* *ɲa* *tɛ̃* *'klam* *nɔ*
he beehive pierce under lie

He was lying under the bee-hive he had been piercing.

kũ *ŋɣ* *tã* *mẽk* *tẽtɔ̃* *mɛ* *'tɛ̃* *ɲa* *ti*
then he tiger distributive go stand his

ka'tɛ̃ *kɔ* *v'yolo* *tɛ̃* *'hɜ* *nɔ*
come tapir whole lie

Then the tiger continued on and when he came back there was the tapir whole.

ti *hatɔ̃* *ɛŋ* *væŋ* *'ɲaŋ* *ŋa*
he me see stand

He is looking at me.

tɛ̃ *kũ* *ɔŋ* *ti* *ya'vaŋ* *nɔ'ɲa*
and so they him shoot at and miss lie stand

.....Then they kept shooting at him.....

I give below the active and participial forms of the relevant verbs in the above examples:

	Active	*Participial*
to see	*væŋ*	*ve*
to joke or riducule	*'ndɪŋ*	*ndi*
to make beer	*pæŋ*	*pe*
to make a bridge	*kɔɪ'tʃæŋ*	*kɔɪ'tʃe*
to die	*ti*	*'tɛlɛ*
to pierce a hive	*pæ'ti*	*pæ'ðiŋ*
to go	*tɛ̃*	*tɛŋ*
to shoot at and miss	*ða'vaŋ*	*ða'vu*

100 Another instance of verb combination. The subject of this sentence is "The *læŋ'dʒili* (bird's) coming...". Since *ŋɣ* appears immediately after *ɲaŋlɔ* it is not necessary to

[9.215(8)]

place it after the subject again, although it does occur, as follows:

'munaŋlɔ ŋv ti yi tɛ̃ ŋv tɛ̃ mu
in the meanwhile his child go
In the meanwhile his son went.

This form of construction, in which the verb becomes the subject of a sentence in which the action is continuous is common in Kaingang.

Examples:

aŋ 'hui ŋv tɛ̃ ɲa
our whistle stand
They are (or someone is) whistling.

ndæ 'ũ ka'tɛŋ ŋv tɛ̃ ɲa
thing other come stand
There comes something!

In the following sentence we have the same type of construction as in the text and in sentence (1), but with *tɔ̃*.

ðĩ tɔ̃ kæi'tʃæ 'nui tɛ̃ ɲa
she pine-knots pull
By-her-pine-knots-pulling stands; i. e. She was pulling pine-knots (out of the ground).

101 This is parenthetical; i. e. "Then he, *tʃõ'klæ*, ..."

102 To hear. Participial, *ma*; active *maŋ*. The text example is in the active form but the *k* has diasppeared under the influence of the *k* in *kũ*.

103 To hide oneself. Participial and active the same. Plural, *ŋaimbiŋ'dʒu*. See Note 58.

104 Turtle.

105 To set at right angles to the earth. "To rise from a reclining position to a sitting one" is *'vipkæ nɛ*.

106 To tilt back. In the door of my house I had a small panel (about 18" × 6") that swung open in a direction at right angles to the swing of the door. That is, the door opened from left to right and the panel swung open from top to bottom. Thus while the hinges of the door were on the right side of the door the hinges of the panel were on

X193 X539 the bottom of the panel. My informant would give instructions for closing this panel in this way:

ðan'dzi kũ nɛðæɪɲ lɔ
tilt up and thrust imperative
Tilt (it) up and thrust (it into position)!

The appearance of *ð* when the verb is not preceded by the object is to be observed here.

107 This expression seems to be made up of *kɔlɔ*, ready, plus the connective *kũ*.

108 To close. *ki tɔ̃ 'tɔpkæ* Close (the door)!

109 An exclamation.

110 This form is totally strange to me. I should expect

'ŋgɔyo 'væŋ nũ mu.
water see I
It is possible that we are dealing with *ve*, the participial form of the verb plus *mu* the verbal particle for the active form of the verb. I have shown in Note 40 that sometimes the participial form of the verb appears with *mu* if the meaning is intransitive. Since ends of statements in Kaingang are weakly articulated it is not improbable that I should not have heard the *u* in *mu*.

111 Plural of "to come".

112 To finish. Follows verbs. Means to finish doing something. Refers to a completed action.

113 *kaɲ* also appears without this element the meaning of which I do not know. I give below the other examples I have:

kũ tã ɛ ka'lɔ tɛ̃ 'va'ɲdɛ.....
then he his lance take
Then he took his lance. (This is said of a man after he had just stabbed another man with it. This seems to refer to the withdrawal of the lance from the wound).

kũ tã ɛ ka'lɔ tɛ̃ ŋaɪ'ndʒvɪ pæn'va
then he his lance reflexive drag

ndɛ nɛk'tæ ndɛ
on all fours
He dashed out on all fours dragging his lance along the ground. (He held the handle

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of the lance and the head was dragging along the ground).

la tɛ̃ ˈlɛ̃lɛ ndɛ tɔk to kɔɪŋgɜɪ̨
sun awake alive that this man

tɛlɛ ke kũ ti ɲanˈŋgɔ ŋa
die about to and his

When the sun appears and disappears behind the clouds they say that a man is going to die and it is his *ɲanˈŋgɔ*.

kũ ŋv tã ˈvæk tɛ̃ pæŋˈɲɛ ndɛ mu
then he see circumambulate

When he saw (him) he made a circuit.

kũ ði ˈma kũ ti yo lɜˈlɔ ndɛ
then she hear and him in front of to move over

Then when she heard this she moved over (to make room) for him.

kũ ŋv tã ˈmblv ndɛ mu
then he to shiver into a thousand pieces

Then he shivered into a thousand pieces.

ɔŋ ˈlat ka ndɛ mu
..... them slaughter finish

(They) killed them all.

kũ tã ɛ viyi̇ tɛ̃ væɳvæɳ ham3
then he his bow to wave to be about t

ˈŋgɯm3 leŋ ndɛ kuˈta mu
up above throw (plural) fall

Then he was about to raise his bow above (himself) when he fell (over backward). That is to say, he sprang to his feet with his bow in both hands and was about to hold it up in front of himself to ward off blows from a lance when he fell over backwards.

114 To take off or out of. Participial *mbaɳ*. Active *mbaŋ*.

115 On top of. A postposition. See also Note 33.

116 When this expression appears as a verb the *mɔ* is dropped. When it is alone in a sentence without any other verb the *mɔ* does not appear.

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Examples:

λ193 *kakɔ ŋv tã ɲa*
he stand
λ539 He paid no attention.

ha kũ ŋv ɔŋ ti ka ˈkɔ mu
therefore they him pay not attention
Therefore they paid no attention to him (let him alone).

mɔ appears in association with adverbs, thus:

ŋaɪˈtʃili mɔ ɔk tɔ̃ nɛˈviŋ ŋa
a long time ago they do
A long time ago they did it.

yæ nũ ɛŋ ha e pili mɔ
indefinite future I I I one

yæ nũ to ũ pæˈnũ
indefinite future I other shoot at and hit

yæ teŋ
in order to go
I am going alone to shoot some.

mu ɲaŋˈlɔ ŋv tã ˈŋgumɔ̃ kũ ŋv
in the meanwhile he up above[1] and

tã kuˈðɛ̃ ka ɲa
he loop in stand
[481] In the meanwhile he was up above resting in his (climbing) loop.

mɔ may, therefore, be looked upon as an adverbializer.

I have only two other examples of *mɔ* attached to other elements:

a yɜklæ mɔ̃ nũ yæ a
your thinking I indefinite future you

ˈtaɪ to aklæ ˈtũ tɛ̃ ɲaŋˈlɔ nũ a ˈtaɪ
kill think not I you kill

tɛ̃
definite future
You think that I won't kill you but I will.

[1] I have examples of this element with the vowel both nasalized and unnasalized. Since the contexts are always similar I am giving both types of vowels in the discussion of the same element. The examples of the use of this element are few.

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tɛ̃kũ *ti* *mblæ* *ɔŋ* *mblæ*
and so him together with them together with

ðɔyndeŋ mɔ *mu*
well disposed toward each other

... and so with him and them (you) lived on good terms.

117 Probably *ŋv*. There are examples of *ŋv* used thus as a conjunction:

ti *ɣɛkkɹnk* *tɛŋ* *ŋv* *ɔ'ɣɛlɔ* *ũ* *pɹɛvũ* *mu*
his hunting go tapir other shoot

He went hunting and shot a tapir.

Note: Since writing the foregoing I have changed my point of view somewhat. Firth, with regard to the statement made at the top of page 181, that if *ðɹ'pa* were a verb it would have both *ŋa* and *mu* forms, it is necessary to point out that some verbs are the same in both active and participial constructions. (See page 185). Second, although in Kaingang grammar some states (i. e. qualities) are treated like things (i. e. nouns), others are treated like activities (i. e. verbs). My reasons for thinking so are as follows: 1) The syntactical positions of *tɛ̃* and the elements expressing qualities in sentences 5—9, page 180, are the same as those of *mu* and

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118 To stop doing something. See Note 36.

119 Very; a great deal. An adverb expressing greater degree.

120 Therefore.

121 To look for. Participial *kɔ'na*.

122 This is the only example I have of this construction, i. e. the active particle followed by *kæke*. It could very well be *kɔnaŋ'mũ* "..... go to look for....". This would make perfect sense and be correct grammatically.

the verb in active constructions. (See page 187). *mu* also is the particle associated with the active form of verbs. (See page 185). 2) *tĩ*, *nɔ* to lie, *ɲaŋ* to stand, *nɛ* to sit, and *mu* all occur terminally. 3) *tĩ* sometimes, *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ* and *nɛ* with but rare exceptions require the active form of the verb. (See page 215). 4) Whenever *nɔ*, *ɲaŋ* and *nɛ* occur without *ŋa* (see Note 71, page 210 and examples on page 181), that is to say, in the great majority of cases, they take active pronominal subjects. When *tĩ* has a pronominal subject it is always an active pronoun. (See sentences 5—8 and 11—14 page 180 and Note 11, page 186).

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[For information on Caingang grammar, see category 116, pp. 178 (B) - 218 (B).]

[For Caingang texts, see category 116, pp. 175(B) - 218 (B).]